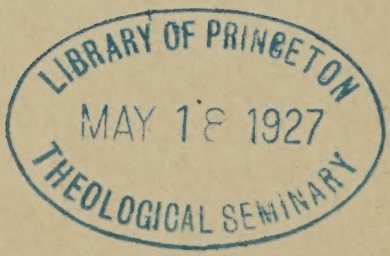
THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

HERRING – LANDIS



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THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

This is a preliminary edition of "The Church and Social Relations," issued for experimental use by discussion groups and church school classes. Criticisms and suggestions are invited, to serve as a basis for the revision and enlargement of the final text. These should be addressed to Secretary Hubert C. Herring, Congregational Education Society, 14 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

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The Church and Social Relations

A TEXT FOR DISCUSSION GROUPS AND CHURCH SCHOOL CLASSES

BY

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INTRODUCTION

THIS text has one purpose—to stimulate thinking and action about social relations on the part of young peoples' and adult groups in church schools and other organizations.

It is based upon the *Statement of Social Ideals* of the Congregational Churches, the discussion in each chapter being devoted to a specific declaration from the statement. These are given at the beginning of each chapter. This statement is one of many similar statements which have been adopted by the churches of America. This text is adapted to the study of the fundamental issues raised by all such statements. The declarations of this statement are presented in order to draw out critical examination of their implications.

The statement contains thirty-nine articles, which reach out into a wide field of human relations. The quotations are presented from other sources which cover special topics more comprehensively than is here possible. The references suggest the wealth of available data. It is obviously impossible for a book of this scope to attempt a systematic treatment of such a variety of subjects. Its purpose is to open up the subject, and suggest some of the trails which the student might profitably take.

This book is for the use of young people's and adult groups in the church school, for discussion groups, and for men's and women's clubs whose members wish to consider their responsibilities for creating a better social order.

This book should be used as a trail-breaker, rather than an encyclopedia. It is designed to suggest methods and lines of discussion. The value of the discussion based upon it will depend upon the amount of time which members of the group spend in following up the books, pamphlets, and articles which are suggested, and in assembling data about their own communities.

The material is arranged under thirty-nine heads. With this division it will be found to fit well into three quarters of the church school year. By making eliminations or grouping subdivisions the material can be covered in a half year or even in one quarter. The authors hope, however, that discussion groups will make use of the material in accordance with their own peculiar needs.

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SUGGESTIONS TO TEACHERS AND LEADERS

THIS outline is planned to secure a discussion of the experience of members of the participating group in the social relations in their own communities. It is suggested that the procedure be somewhat as follows:

Take up one of the questions which appear first in each chapter or any other which you may frame. Secure expressions of experience and data from the members of the group. Pool the available information. Jot down the points on a blackboard. Be sure to bring out opposing points of view. Ask for explanations of the reasons for the differences. The aim should be to promote a quest for understanding and information and a quest for improving social relations in the community. Though views may not, or should not be harmonized, nevertheless, there should be a cooperative consideration of responsibility for creating a better social order.

Take time to consider carefully and critically the sources of information about local conditions. Review these for adequacy; consider how they might be improved.

The resources of the group may be supplemented by the reference material and by the book reviews given after the questions for discussion. The reference material is selective and not exhaustive. It is furnished to illustrate the kind of sources which are available for the study of social relations.

Books, pamphlets, or articles listed should be assigned in advance to various members for reading and report.

All members of the class or discussion group should own a copy of this book in order to carry on the study to best advantage.

The authors urge all leaders and teachers who use this book to write them what the experience has been and especially to send criticism of content and the suggested procedure.

To keep in constant touch with case material on social relations subscribe to the *Information Service* of the Department

of Research and Education, Federal Council of Churches, 105 East 22nd Street, New York. (Weekly except August. $2.00 a year.) The pamphlets and books of the department will also be useful.

For suggestions as to methods of conducting discussion groups and for other valuable material subscribe to *The Inquiry,* published by the The Inquiry (Conference on the Christian Way of Life), 129 East 52nd Street, New York. $2.00 a year.) Also consult the other publications of the Inquiry.

CHAPTER I

WHY CONSIDER SOCIAL RELATIONS?

We believe in making the social and spiritual ideals of Jesus our test for community as well as for individual life; in strengthening and deepening the inner personal relationship of the individual with God, and recognizing his obligation and duty to society. This is crystallized in the two commandments of Jesus: *"Love thy God, love thy neighbor."* We believe this pattern ideal for a Christian social order involves the recognition of the sacredness of life, the supreme worth of each single personality, and our common membership in one another—the brotherhood of all. In short, it means creative activity in cooperation with our fellow human beings, and with God, in the everyday life of society and in the development of a new and better world social order.—Preamble of the *Statement of Social Ideals.*

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

What evidences are there in our community of the complexity of our social life, of our dependence one upon another?

By what methods do economic, social, and religious groups influence the behavior of individuals?

Are there instances of outstanding differences between social groups in our community? How are those differences being adjusted?

Is there need of better relations between different groups in our community and how may these be brought about?

How may we come to fuller understanding of individuals and groups with which we differ?

In our experience how large a part do the motives of individuals play in changing group codes and rules? Are we convinced that Christian incentive on the part of individuals can change groups and the social order, or do we feel that

motives are shaped largely by the groups of which we are members and the social situations in which we find ourselves?

What help do the teachings and life of Jesus give us in dealing with these questions?

(These questions may be replaced or supplemented by others.)

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

Principles of "The Fellowship for a Christian Social Order"

We believe that according to the life and teaching of Jesus, the supreme task of mankind is the creation of a social order, the kingdom of God on earth, wherein the maximum opportunity shall be afforded for the development and enrichment of every human personality; in which the supreme motive shall be love; wherein men shall cooperate in service for the common good and brotherhood shall be a reality in all of the daily relationships of life.

We must, therefore, endeavor to transform such unchristian attitudes and practices as now hinder fellowship; extravagant luxury for some, while many live in poverty and want; excessive concentration of power and privilege as a result of vast wealth in the hands of a few; monopoly of natural resources for private gain; autocratic control of industry by any group; production for individual profit and power rather than for social use and service; arrogance and antagonism of classes, nations and races; war, the final denial of brotherhood.

We believe that in the spirit and principles of Jesus is found the way of overcoming these evils, and that within the Christian Church there should be a unity of purpose and endeavor for the achieving of a Christian social order. By means of fellowship in thought and prayer we come to understand the point of view of those who differ from us, make possible new discoveries of truth, and aid one another in the solution of common problems. We believe that social changes should be effected through educational and spiritual processes, especially by an open-minded examination of existing evils and suggested solutions, full discussion, and varied experimentation. We pledge ourselves to a vigorous activity in seeking by these means a solution of the social problems which we face. (Miss

Amy Blanche Greene, 347 Madison Ave., N. Y., is executive secretary of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order.)

Catholic Teaching on Social Questions

Three recent press releases of the Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Conference illustrate the definiteness with which this department applies Catholic teaching to important issues of the day. In commenting upon the rapid forming of new trusts called mergers in American industry during the past few years, the Catholic Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction is quoted. This program rejected government price-fixing of commodities, after due consideration was given to the proposal, but warned that "the extortionate practices of monopoly" should be "prevented by adequate laws and adequate enforcement." The Bishops' Program also implied "that if private monopoly becomes so strong as to withstand the government, government-owned concerns might be in order." Then the Bishops' Program passed on to recommend the consumers' cooperative movement as something more important and effective than government regulation of prices.

A statement is made calling attention to conditions in Porto Rico, and the request of Porto Ricans for an impartial study of economic conditions on the island. The new policy of the American Federation of Labor in regard to wages was foreshadowed in the Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction, it is also announced, only "the Bishops' Program looks to the establishment of cooperative production and copartnership societies and it declares that until this is created, we will not have an efficient system of production nor a society safe from revolution."

How Groups Control Individual Practices

The greater part of each man's personal experience is made up of his interaction with others in the multifarious relations of life, and these relations, from the earliest known phases of human society, are controlled by customs which arise out of the needs of social life, and are maintained by the social tradition. Through this tradition society exerts a continuous control over the individual, of which avowed and obvious coercion

is the least important element. The vital factor is that from infancy upwards the social milieu into which he is born interpenetrates his thought and will, and turns his individuality into a creation of the time and place of his life.—*Social Evolution and Political Theory,* by Hobhouse. Columbia University Press.

The "Social Gospel" Challenged

Bulletin No. 55 of the National Association of Manufacturers, New York, is entitled *Industry, Society and the Church.* It is made up of selections from the writings of Dean Inge of St. Paul's Cathedral, London. The strong individualistic views of Dean Inge are well known, and this collection of statements, taken largely from the two volumes, *Outspoken Essays,* but containing certain more recent pronouncements, constitutes a formidable attack upon the very thesis of social Christianity. According to Dean Inge, Christianity "has very little to do directly with the mechanism of social life"; its gospel is "not one of social improvement, but of spiritual redemption"; it "sets a very small value on all the apparatus of civilized life"; the church has enough work of its own to do "without trying to enlighten political experts on their own subjects"; the gospel "contains no program of social reform." Says the "gloomy Dean," "I am not favorably impressed with internationalism as I have met with it."

Organized labor is in the Dean's mind nothing short of a giant foe to social progress. He charges the trade unions with a "legalization of terrorism." The labor movement is "economically rotten." The big trade unions are "plundering both the owners of their 'plant,' and the general public." They have "made the welcome discovery that they can 'hold up' the community as successfully as ever Dick Turpin waylaid a coach."

Christianity and Social Science, by Charles A. Ellwood. Macmillan.

The Story of Social Christianity, by Francis Herbert Stead. 2 vols. Doran.

Christianity and the Social Crisis, by Walter Rauschenbusch. Association Press.

PART I

SOCIAL IDEALS AND EDUCATION

CHAPTER II

EVERY CHILD — HIS RIGHTS

Translating the ideals of Jesus into education means: The building of a social order in which every child has the best opportunity for development.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

What children in our community have at present the best opportunities for development?

Where are the underprivileged children to be found? What do these underprivileged children need most?

How may we assure to each child the best opportunities?

Can our church create more opportunities for underprivileged children? If so, suggest some of them.

How can our church cooperate with other churches in these activities?

What can our church do to cooperate with the schools and social organizations in these activities?

What teachings and examples of Jesus assist us here?

(These questions may be replaced or supplemented by others.)

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

Poverty and Infant Mortality

In releasing its study, *Economic Factors in Infant Mortality,* by R. M. Woodbury, the Federal Children's Bureau says: Using the mass of data secured in the bureau's investigations of infant mortality in seven American cities, during which records were accumulated for over 21,000 legitimate live births, Dr. Woodbury proves a casual relationship between fathers' earnings and infant mortality by statistical methods which permit the isolation of the economic factor from associated factors in studying its effect on the baby's chance to live. Quite apart from the type of feeding, the color or nationality of the mother, and from factors associated with frequent births, in-

fant mortality rates were found to rise as fathers' earnings fell. The influence of poverty, it is pointed out, is probably indirect, being reflected in the inability to give the mother and baby good care and to pay for the medical and nursing service.

Pauline's Story

Pauline was a girl of sixteen, living as so many thousands of young girls from broken homes do now, entirely on her own earnings. Her mother was dead, her father unknown. She earned fourteen dollars a week making automobile tires. Her probation officer had placed her in a suitable boarding home. When spring came she flowered forth in new clothes and earrings of the extreme style of the period. She had obtained credit for an outfit costing over a hundred dollars, though of course the actual value was not a third of that amount. No real investigation of her financial status was made by the "company." In proportion to her income she had obtained credit which no business man or woman could hope to obtain. She was so obviously immature that credit should have been denied her on the ground that it was poor business, and the more humane view that it was for her welfare. Pauline made a few futile efforts to pay that required four dollars per week. Then she became a fugitive. She gave up her job, sought one as cigarette girl in a cabaret, gave this up because she was annoyed by men, took a position as usherette in a theatre, dyed her hair, changed her name and her boarding home trying vainly to elude the collector. Pauline finally disappeared and the court has no trace of her."—*Youth in Conflict,* by Miriam Van Waters. The Republic Publishing Company.

Education for Democracy

A society marked off into classes need be specially attentive only to the education of its ruling elements. A society which is mobile, which is full of channels for the distribution of a change occurring anywhere, must see to it that its members are educated to personal initiative and adaptability. Otherwise they will be overwhelmed by the changes in which they are caught and whose significance or connections they do not perceive.—*Democracy and Education,* by John Dewey. Reprinted by permission of the Macmillan Company.

The Happiness of Childhood

Childhood . . . with all its extravagancies and uncertainties, its effusion and reticences, . . . remains a standing proof of a life wherein growth is normal not an anomaly, activity a delight not a task, and where habit-forming is an expansion of power not its shrinkage. Habit and impulse may war with each other, but it is a combat between the habits of adults and the impulses of the young, and not, as with the adult, a civil warfare whereby personality is rent asunder.—*Human Nature and Conduct,* by John Dewey. Henry Holt and Co.

The Child, the Clinic and the Court. New Republic, Inc.
The Child: His Nature and His Needs. The Children's Foundation.
New Values in Child Welfare. The Annals. Thirty-two articles on all aspects of child welfare.
Child versus Parent, by Stephen S. Wise. Macmillan.

CHAPTER III

THE OPEN DOOR IN EDUCATION

Translating the ideals of Jesus into education means: Adequate and equal educational opportunity for all, with the possibility of extended training for those competent.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

What is our idea of "adequate" educational opportunity?

What is our idea of "equal" educational opportunity?

In what respect does our community fail to provide equal and adequate educational opportunity for all?

In what respect do our country and state fail to provide equal and adequate educational opportunity for all?

How may the situation be improved?

How can our church help?

How can we cooperate with the educational institutions?

For which vocations and occupations should the state and community provide free instruction?

Should the nation allow a smaller expenditure of money per year per pupil for the education of rural children than for city children?

How may we help to secure equal opportunity for rural as compared with city children?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

The Inequality of Educational Opportunity

Some Children Attend Schools:

1. Open 200 days a year — well organized and carefully supervised.
2. Taught by trained, experienced, mature, well-paid and competent teachers.
3. Conducted in modern, fireproof, sanitary, and well-equipped buildings.
4. Adequately supplied with the best text-books and teaching materials.

5. Which train for the great opportunities and responsibilities of twentieth-century civilization.

Others Attend Schools:

1. Open only a few weeks a year—poorly organized and unsupervised.
2. Taught by untrained, inexperienced, immature, underpaid, and incompetent teachers.
3. Conducted in ill-adapted, unsanitary shacks—a menace to safety and health.
4. Lacking suitable text-books and other necessary teaching materials.
5. Which train for life as it was in the days of the ox cart and spinning wheel.—*Bulletin No. 2* of the Research Department of the National Education Association, Washington, D.C. November, 1922.

Government and Human Welfare

1. Five Billions in 1920. [Federal Budget]
   a. 92.8% war.
   b. 3 % public works.
   c. 3.2% primary government functions.
   d. 1 % education, research, and development.
2. Fifty dollars per capita of which 50 cents goes for education, research, development.
3. In 1920 a total of one billion was spent for education—2% of the national income; 22.7 billions for luxuries. . . .
4. A saving of 5% on face powder, furs, soft drinks, cigarettes, cigars, chewing gum could double education expenditures.
5. We should spend 5 billions at least on education.
6. City schools cost per pupil $51.57, rural $33.67.—*Sociology of Human Behavior,* by Daniel Harrison Kulp. Teachers' College, Columbia University.

Rural Versus Urban Schools

Health examinations disclose defects in urban children 72%, in rural children 87%.

11.8% of the children in the country are not attending school.

4% of the children in school finish grammar grades; of those in high schools about 8% finish.

Rural provision for education very inadequate in teachers and equipment.

Regions where school attendance is low show the highest degree of illiteracy.—*The Sociology of Human Behavior,* by Daniel Harrison Kulp. Teachers' College, Columbia University.

CHAPTER IV

WHY CHRISTIAN EDUCATION?

Translating the ideals of Jesus into education means: A thorough and scientific program of religious and secular education designed to Christianize everyday life and conduct.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

What are the aims of our church school?

What are the aims of the church schools of our community?

What are the aims of the public schools of our community?

How can both make more of a contribution than in the past toward christianizing everyday life and conduct?

Do we wish to introduce the teaching of religion in the public schools? Why? How?

Do we wish to inaugurate week-day religious instruction through the churches? Why? How?

What is meant by a *scientific* program of education, either for religious or other instruction?

Do we need new methods in our church school in order to christianize everyday life and conduct? If so, what methods are available?

How can we relate Christian teaching more closely to everyday life and conduct?

(Other questions may be raised by the leader of the group.)

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

Why "Christian"?

In clear and burning words, so we must judge from the impressions produced by them even though we may never recover the identical phrasing of his teaching, Jesus broke with those who believed in the existence of a fixed and unchangeable system of rules for human conduct and substituted the moral ideal of a perpetual quest, lifted to the uppermost reaches by the dynamic of sympathy, of love.

In doing so, he introduced into moral philosophy an imperative . . . so revolutionary from the point of view of every established social order from that time to ours that, when it has not been perverted to fit temporary social needs, it has remained a force working against and not for the rigid maintenance of any fixed status in economic, social, or political relationships. No matter how firmly the doors are closed to innovations, the conception of morals as a quest provides a force that breaks through systems and rules — a force not always successful in finding a better adaptation of conduct to the demands of life, but always offering new opportunities for the exercise and growth of man's highest gift — the power to explore and to change and grow under the impetus of love.

Hence, the present revival of interest in this moral dynamic of Jesus—an interest shared by many who, because of the narrower implications of the term, cannot call themselves Christians—is not an accident but closely bound up with the philosophical tendencies of our time. These tendencies are substituting principles of natural law for those of permanency and stability; they duly recognize the influences of environment, and also of breeding, upon occupations and cultures which in their turn give rise to religious and ethical systems which seem permanent only so long as the environmental conditions remain the same. Science and ethics, the search for the true and the search for the good, are joining forces in the discovery of a morality which, permanent only in its dynamic, is flexible enough to adapt itself to the evolving nature of the universe and of those particular aspects of it that directly affect human conduct.

Thus, a new spirit is pervading also the educational theory of our time, a spirit so closely related to what has just been defined as central in the teaching of Jesus, insofar as we know of it, that it may almost be called a revival of essential Christianity—namely, a revolt against hard systems of knowledge that must be implanted in the young, against rules that must be followed no matter where they lead or how much insistence upon them may destroy of originality in thought and feeling, against the whole notion that wisdom is something which, with the aid of schools, the older generation may hand on to the younger one.—*The Inquiry,* October, 1925.

Pestalozzi's Education as Unfolding from Within

Sound education stands before me symbolized by a tree planted near fertilizing waters. A little seed, which contains the design of the tree, its form and proportions, is placed in the soil. See how it germinates and expands into trunk, branches, leaves, flowers and fruit! The whole tree is an uninterrupted chain of organic parts, the plan of which existed in its seed and root. Man is similar to the tree. In the new-born child are hidden those faculties which are to unfold during life. The individual and separate organs of his being form themselves gradually into unison and build up humanity in the image of God. . . . It is not the educator who puts new powers and faculties into man and imparts to him breath and life. He only takes care that no untoward influence shall disturb nature's march of developments.—*Pestalozzi,* by Krusi. Wilson, Hinkle Co.

Napoleon on Education

It is impossible, indeed, to remain long in the present state of things, since everyone may now set up a shop for education as he would for broadcloth. . . . I feel called upon to organize a system of education for the new generation, such that both political and moral opinions may be duly regulated thereby.—*Social Control,* by Edward A. Ross. Reprinted by permission of the Macmillan Company.

A Social Theory of Religious Education, by George A. Coe. Charles Scribners' Sons.

The Curriculum of Religious Education, by W. C. Bower. Charles Scribners' Sons.

CHAPTER V

SAFEGUARDING THE HEALTH OF AMERICA

Translating the ideals of Jesus into education means: Conservation of health, including instruction in sex hygiene and home building, abundant and wholesome recreation facilities, and education for leisure, including a nation-wide system of adult education.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

What progress has been made in our community in instructing individuals in the promotion of their health?

What agencies are promoting public health and what do they do?

What still needs to be done?

How have sanitary conditions been improved? What might be done to make these conditions better?

How much and what kind of instruction in sex hygiene is being given in our church school? In other church schools? In the public schools? Through other agencies? How can we assist in bettering and spreading this instruction?

How important is education for parenthood and home-building as compared with the education for other functions? Where and how can one learn how to be a parent and build a home? What must be done in order to prepare people better for these functions?

What are the pros and cons in the present day discussion about voluntary parenthood? What is our view in regard to the desirability of promoting voluntary parenthood? What is our responsibility as a church? As individual Christians?

What are the recreational needs of our community?

How may we help to meet those needs?

What should be the purpose of education for leisure? How do we use our leisure time? How should our leisure time be divided so as to strengthen and deepen our personal lives and

to build a better world social order? Do we need new dynamic and personal drive in order to make our leisure time count for more? How is leisure time abused by us in our community?

Have all adults in our community equal opportunity for "continuing education"? What sort of instruction is being provided for adults. Through what agencies?

What would be an ideal program or "set-up" in our community?

How can we and our church assist in this adult education?

How may we deal with these matters in our religious education program?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

What Are Some of the Things the Church Can Do?

The church is in a peculiarly fortunate position in approaching the group of problems involved in sex and reproduction in that it has long led the public in its feelings and thinking about the higher goals of human life. In the fight to substitute a high and constructive use of sex for a limited and degraded use, the church should, through its pulpit and by its public utterances, arouse public opinion in support of all the kinds of constructive measures mentioned above. In the ministry of the pastor there are many private opportunities for him to interpret to married people who are not making the most of their lives, the fuller meaning of home and family relations and the means of attaining these values. Through the church schools there is the opportunity to train parents in special classes so that they may bring the finest instruction and interpretation of sex to their own children. Similarly, the church school may aid young men and women in special classes to understand better the meaning of courtship, marriage, parenthood, and homemaking, and thus prepare them better for their duties. The religious school, too, should form special classes in which adolescent boys or adolescent girls may have brought to their appreciative understanding the forces which are working in their lives to make men and women of them, and thus enable them in these difficult years to adjust their growing sex consciousness to the problems and adjustments which confront them.—*The Part of the Church in Social Hygiene,* by Thomas Walton Galloway. American Social Hygiene Association.

Illth and the Prolongation of Life

I. Extent and Costs of Disease in the United States.

A. Death rates for registration area, which includes 85.3% of the total population in the United States per 1000 persons.

1. In 1900—17.6; 1910—15; 1919—12.9; 1921—11.6; 1922—11.8.

B. Cost of illth.

1. Illth of income-bringers of greatest social significance.

a. Diseases affecting workers; tuberculosis affects 3% of industrial population or 1,250,000 persons; pneumonia, influenza, and typhoid fever are most acute among adults; hook-worm affects 5% of the laboring population; malaria creates sub-standard health and economic incompetency; 60% of workers, 14,000,000 people show focal infections.

b. "Health span"—18-31 years: work span—20 to 42 years.

2. "Three million seriously ill at all times"—Irving Fisher; 42% is preventable which would add 15 years to extension of life; sick rate at ages 35-44 is nearly double that from 15-24 years.

3. Fisher claims an annual economic loss from preventable disease and death of $1,500,000,000; tuberculosis alone costs $1,000,000,000; typhoid fever $135,000,000; hook-worm $250,000,000; malaria $100,000,000 annually.

4. In 1922 the United States spent *1400 million dollars for cure* and *60 million for prevention.*—H. H. Moore: *The Sociology of Human Behavior,* by Daniel Harrison Kulp. Teachers' College, Columbia University.

Four Girls in Court

Four girls, 14, 16, 15, and 17, next on the calendar.
They are high school students, "good" families.
They are involved in a school scandal. One is discovered

by her teacher to possess a notebook of dull obscenities, sex jokes . . . dull and witless stuff it is.

The record seems clear. "They smoked, drank (when they could get it), rode home from dances in taxicabs, took all night joy rides, used a great deal of paint and powder, swore at their parents . . . the girls were sophisticated, tired; any exertion, besides dancing, wore them out."

They were caught in one escapade, brought before the juvenile court.

Who is guilty? The boys? The girls? The school? The courts?

"Sex is not sacred to them, or terrifying: it is merely fun."

The court sends each to a socially minded physician, for after all their much knowledge is spurious.

"The court, by probing, simple questions, tries to bring to them a sense of birth, child-rearing, nursing, illness, love, courtship, self-sacrifice, discovery, struggle and happiness, parenthood and death."—*Youth in Conflict,* by Miriam Van Waters. Republic Publishing Company.

Survey of Adult Education

Frederick P. Keppel, president of the Carnegie Corporation, contributes to the *Yale Review* for April a résumé of the extent of the adult education movement in the United States and a critique of some of the evident tendencies. Dr. Keppel was formerly dean of Columbia College and has been at different times Assistant Secretary of War, director of foreign operations of the American Red Cross and representative of the United States in the International Chamber of Commerce. He therefore writes out of an extensive experience in public affairs as well as in education. He presents results of a study of the adult education movement made by the Carnegie Corporation.

There are now five times as many adults pursuing some kind of supervised study as are registered in all the colleges and universities of the country. The students in commercial correspondence courses are the largest group. A million and a half new students register in these schools each year. The typical student is a young man 26 years of age who has been in high school two years and who lives in a medium-sized city. More than a million persons attend public evening schools,

part-time and continuation schools. These are young people of both sexes, with an average age of nineteen or twenty years. Ninety-two per cent of these students are under twenty-four years of age. "On the basis of their own statements, only 15 per cent left school because of financial pressure. Most of them evidently left because they had lost interest. Their reason for returning is the realization that education pays."

There are now 150,000 in university extension classes. These are mainly women averaging thirty years of age. The Y. M. C. A. courses enroll 100,000 students. There are probably 100,000 under other organizations. Workers' education classes have an enrollment of 30,000. Less formal instruction in the form of lectures, chautauquas, agricultural extension, has been reaching a rapidly increasing number of persons. "Our trouble," states Dr. Keppel, "is not that we have no adult education. Few realize how much of it we have, and how vital and vigorous much of it is."—*Information Service,* Federal Council of Churches.

Health Education. A program for public schools and teacher training institutions. Report of the Joint Committee on Health Problems in Education, Thomas D. Wood, M.D., Chairman, 525 West 120th Street, New York.

Progress of the Warfare against Disease, by Oscar H. Rogers. New York Life Insurance Company. Reprint of address at the eighteenth annual meeting of the Association of Life Insurance Presidents.

National Health in the Life Insurance Mirror, by Robert Lynn Cox, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. Reprint of an address at the fifteenth annual meeting of the Association of Life Insurance Presidents.

Public Health in the United States, by H. Moore. Harper and Brothers.

The National Health Series, published by the National Health Council.

CHAPTER VI

SHALL WE HAVE FREE SPEECH?

Translating the ideals of Jesus into education means: Insistence on constitutional rights and duties, including freedom of speech, of the press, and of peaceable assemblage.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

What are the constitutional provisions for freedom of speech, of press, and of peaceable assemblage?

When have these provisions of the Constitution of the United States been nullified in our community? Elsewhere? How?

Do we believe in the observance and enforcement of these constitutional provisions at all times?

Is censorship of the press ever justifiable? When?

Should every citizen have the right to say what he thinks is right or a good policy at any time?

Should we be so free as to advocate through speech the breaking of a law, or should advocacy of law-breaking be punished or curbed?

Who should determine when an assemblage is not "peaceable"? By what standards?

Do the authorities of our community tend to limit public assemblage of unpopular groups and give freedom to others?

(Other questions may be raised instead of these.)

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

Denial of Civil Liberties

"The Denial of Civil Liberties in the Coal Fields," a pamphlet by Winthrop D. Lane, issued in 1924 by the American Civil Liberties Union (100 Fifth Avenue, New York City) draws material from several important sources, including the following: the report on the denial of civil rights by the United States Coal Commission; the findings of the Committee

of Inquiry on Coal and Civil Liberties, established in response to the public invitation from the Coal Commission to supply facts concerning the violation of civil liberties, of which Professor Zachariah Chafee, Jr., of Harvard Law School was chairman; and the study of conditions in Logan and other counties in West Virginia made by Jerome Davis, then of Dartmouth College.

Mr. Lane stresses the isolation and unusual conditions surrounding a mining town, apart as it usually is from other commercial and industrial endeavor, owned and regulated by the mining company, unique in its dependence on one kind of work and located in lonely valleys and on deserted mountain sides. He shows the power of leases as a means of control of the life of the miner outside of the mine by quotations from these documents. One used by a company in Somerset County, Pennsylvania, provides that "the employe 'shall not harbor or permit to use, occupy or otherwise be upon said premises, any person objectionable to the company . . . said employe shall upon notice and demand of the company remove any person therefrom objectionable to the company, and failing to do so the right of the said employe and his family to so use and occupy said premises shall thereupon immediately cease and terminate.' "

In certain instances, canvassers and salesmen of whom the companies approve are given credentials by officials which permit them to canvass in the company town. Without such credentials no salesman may visit the families. It is a common practice to have privately paid deputies enforce company regulations and proceed against any activities not approved by the companies. The number of deputy sheriffs paid for by various mining companies in Jefferson County, Alabama, alone totaled 740 according to the affidavit sworn to by the sheriff of the county. Of these, 407 were provided by the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company.

The Right of the Minority to Speak

If all mankind minus one, were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind.—*On*

Liberty, by John Stuart Mill. Parker. Quoted in *Source Book in the Philosophy of Education,* by William H. Kilpatrick, New York. The Macmillan Company, 1923.

Limits to the Freedom of Speech

There ought to exist the fullest liberty of professing and discussing, as a matter of ethical conviction, any doctrine, however immoral it may be considered. . . . Instigation. . . . in a specific case, may be a proper subject of punishment, but only if an overt act has followed, and at least a probable connection can be established between the act and the instigation. —*On Liberty,* by John Stuart Mill. Parker. Quoted in *Source Book in the Philosophy of Education,* by William H. Kirkpatrick. Macmillan.

My Opponent's Case

Paradoxical, as it may seem, if I am a sincere seeker for truth, I shall help my antagonist to put his cause in the utmost favorable light and cooperate with him in securing an opportunity for putting his theory to the test. I shall do this because I am convinced that his theory will not work, and that the sooner it is demonstrated that it will not work, under conditions which he himself chooses as being especially favorable for success, the better for my own position.—Roswell C. McCrea in the *Columbia University Quarterly.*

Free Speech in 1925

Although the year was marked by numerous cases and issues in the field of civil liberty, the general condition continued to improve as it did in the previous year. There was less active intolerance and fear. Radical, racial, and religious minorities found it easier to live because of less interference.

But this condition by no means indicates that intolerance and repression have so far declined as to be insignificant. It means, rather, that no serious conflict or minority activity has aroused the latent forces of repression. Widespread prosperity and the consequent absence of industrial strife account in large part for the improved condition. The efforts to impose majority dogmas by law and intimidation have shifted from the

industrial arena to the field of education. That is the new battle ground. (From the Annual Report of The American Civil Liberties Union, N. Y.)

Freedom of Speech, by Zachariah Chafee, Jr. Harcourt, Brace and Co. A standard work on laws and on data on freedom of speech during and since the war.

The Repression of Civil Liberties in the United States, by Harry F. Ward. American Civil Liberties Union. Reprint of paper read before the American Sociological Society, 1923.

The Labor Spy, by Sidney Howard. Republic Publishing Co.

Civil War in West Virginia, by Winthrop D. Lane. B. W. Huebsch, Inc.

CHAPTER VII

THE MARGINAL FOLKS

Translating the ideals of Jesus into education means: Constructive education and Christian care of dependents, defectives and delinquents, in order to restore them to normal life whenever possible, with kindly segregation for those who are hopelessly feeble-minded. (This means that such institutions as the jails, prisons, and orphan asylums should be so conducted as to be genuine centers for education and health.)

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

What "constructive education" is being given to those in jails and prisons in our locality? How should it be carried on? How may we assist?

How do the method and expenditure for giving constructive education to dependents and defectives in order to restore them to normal life whenever possible compare with the constructive education of normal children? What can be done to better conditions?

What would be involved in "kindly segregation" of those hopelessly feeble-minded? Should reproduction among the feeble-minded be prevented?

What are the purposes of jails and prisons? By what methods do they restore prisoners to normal life when possible? Could we restore them better by segregating individuals in special schools, workshops, farms, and playgrounds instead of prison walls?

What is being done about juvenile delinquency in our community? Do we use scientific methods in dealing with it?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

Deficiency and Insanity

Feeblemindedness:

The nature of mental defect.

The idiot has a "mental age" of one to two years; the imbecile two to seven years; the moron eight years to normal.

Extent of mental deficiency:

Two per cent of the population.

About one to every 230 of the population.

Not more than 10% of offenders are feebleminded but they cost much in

Crime
Illegitmacy
Prostitution
Disease
Pauperism
Drunkenness and degeneracy.

The better present policies for care and treatment of defectives:

For idiots and imbeciles—institutions and colonies.

Segregation of adult females during child bearing age, as in Pennsylvania.

Experience has demonstrated the possibility of reconstruction for independent and satisfactory living in cases of defectives.

Extent of insanity in the United States:

In 1910 about one to every 500 persons.

Claimed to be increasing.

More people live to the age when mental disease sets in.

Cure for many is possible—64% were insane for less than a year.

Extent of blindness:

Approximately 70,000, one to very 1,605 persons.

High among Negroes and foreign born.—*The Sociology of Human Behavior,* by Daniel Harrison Kulp, Teachers' College, Columbia University.

Delinquency:

I. The Nature and Extent of Juvenile Delinquency in the United States.

A. Types of "juvenile delinquency" or maladjusted children demanding special attention.

1. The mentally defective children.

a. Constitute from 1-3 to 1-10 of those coming into the juvenile courts.

2. Children of immigrants who commit property damage.
3. Protestants against uninteresting life—those who steal, lie, run away, commit sex offenses, truancy.
4. Children whose personalities are badly warped.
5. Psychopathic children who commit violence against persons.
6. Children seduced and misled by adults or companions.
7. Unmarried child mothers. . . .

B. The extent and increase of needy children. In New York.
   1. 75% of prisoners in Sing Sing were under 21 years of age—80% of crimes committed by boys.
   2. 7-10% of boys reaching the age of ten have court records.
   3. Most cases are children of foreign-born.
   4. In 1910-1911, 115 institutions in the United States enrolled 51,387 persons, of whom 77.8% were males and 22.2% were females.

C. Causes of juvenile maladjustment.
   1. 50% of cases in New York City due to play.
      a. Impulses and wishes that conflict with laws.
   2. Irritability—organic malfunctioning.
   3. Bad home conditions.
   4. Broken homes—40% of juvenile cases from such.
   5. Mental conflict—assimilation of divergent values.
   6. Mental and emotional defects.
   7. Evil associates.
   8. Bad neighborhood and community conditions.
   9. Suggestive experiences.—*The Sociology of Human Behavior,* by Daniel Harrison Kulp, Teachers' College, Columbia University.

Treatment of Criminals

"Our legal procedure . . . wobbles between a too tender treatment of criminality and a viciously drastic treatment of it. The vacillation can be remedied only as we can analyze

an act in the light of habits, and analyze habits in the light of education, environment, and prior acts. The dawn of truly scientific criminal law will come when each individual case is approached with something corresponding to the complete clinical record which every competent physician attempts to procure as a matter of course in dealing with his subjects."—*Human Nature and Conduct,* by John Dewey. Henry Holt & Co.

Extent and Cost of Crime in the United States

A. In 1910 there were 112,881 persons in 2,823 penal institutions; 105,362 males and 6,136 females; one to every 800 persons.

B. About 250,000 criminals in the United States; approximately a million persons are convicted each year for some offense; in 1915 there were 4,000,000 arrests, and 1,800,000 convictions.

C. Total financial cost a year estimated at $5,000,000,000, five times the direct cost of education; 8¼% of the total national income is spent on crime.—*The Sociology of Human Behavior,* by Daniel Harrison Kulp, Teachers' College, Columbia University.

Youth in Conflict, by Miriam Van Waters. Republic Publishing Company.

Studies in Modern Crime, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, May, 1925.

The Revolt of Modern Youth, by Ben B. Lindsey. Boni and Liveright.

A Practical Program for Church Groups in Jail Work, by Charles N. Lathrop. The National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Social Service Department.

Wall Shadows, by Frank Tannenbaum. G. P. Putnam.

Crucibles of Modern Crime, by Joseph F. Fishman. Cosmopolis Press.

CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATING FOR PEACE

Translating the ideals of Jesus into education means: A scientifically planned program of international education promoting peace and good will and exposing the evils of war, intoxicants, illiteracy and other social sins.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

What do we understand "international education" to mean?

What would be involved in a "scientifically planned program of international education?"

How should a program of international education be set up?

How would an international program of education affect our teaching of history? Other subjects?

Does the religious education in our school assist in promoting internationalism?

How may our religious education be made international?

How should we get our information about other countries?

By what method may we help to eliminate "nationalistic bias" from our religious and other education, and make it truly international?

How do people make up their "attitudes" or their "minds" on international questions? How do people "change their minds" on these questions?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

War Emphasis in Histories

A study of the emphasis on war in school histories has recently been made by the Association for Peace Education (Chicago). Three investigators, not connected with the Association, were employed to make the study purely as a scientific problem without regard for the motives of the study or the use to be made of the data. Twenty-four widely used elementary school text-books in American history and twenty-four volumes widely used as "supplementary readers" were chosen for the survey. . . .

The conclusions reached were: "The average history text devotes a disproportionate amount of space to war. . . . The amount of space devoted to peace by both the texts and the supplementary readers is almost negligible. . . . There are practically no illustrations of distinctly peace topics. . . . The war word content is on the whole nationalistic, biased, and, in many cases, flamboyant. . . . Frequently the sectarian and the sectional views, and the prejudices of the authors are quite evident. The war illustrations as a rule picture only the glorified imaginings of the artists. . . . Very few histories even approach the real truth about war. . . . Histories pay little attention to the Edisons, the Horace Manns and the Franklins; they are too busy depicting the overdrawn exploits of the Lees, the Grants and the Nathan Hales. . . . Much of the supplementary reading material of an historical nature is neither history nor literature; it is untrue sentimentalism."

The Problem of International Ethics

Most of the propaganda for better international relations has no effect whatever on the practice of governments in the opinion of L. P. Jacks, editor of *Hibbert Journal,* who discusses international ethics in *Foreign Affairs* (New York). The present insistence of governments that no "sovereign rights" can be renounced seems to make international ethics impossible. Only a very low degree of morality can be reached by the "live and let live" method, and even that is impossible unless everyone concerned is on an equal basis. Dr. Jacks believes that talk of the Christian spirit in international relations is lost unless those who advocate it are ready to answer affirmatively such questions as: "Do they realize that the introduction of the Christian spirit into international relations is impossible without the willingness of all nations to sacrifice their national interests for the sake of international interests of greater importance? Are they themselves willing that their own nation should 'die to live'? Are they prepared to go to their government with that demand, or to fight the next election on that basis?"—*Information Service,* Federal Council of Churches.

The Drug Problem

America is confronted with a drug problem—how to stop the illicit sales of dangerous, habit-forming drugs, which are peddled and smuggled from one end of our country to the other. No state is exempt; there is no small town or big city in which this danger is not found. We have laws in plenty on our statute-books, laws prohibiting the sale of drugs except on a doctor's prescription; but while these are well enforced, they are nevertheless unable to check the perpetual peddling and smuggling which goes on underground. While the police are constantly catching these petty peddlers, and the federal authorities are frequently running to earth big gangs of smugglers, all this has but little effect on stopping the illicit traffic. For one gang caught, dozens operate unhindered.

The young people of our country are the ones sought out by these peddlers, who first teach them the drug habit, and then instruct them as to the tricks and devices they may resort to in order to reach the underground channels of supply.—*The Ethics of Opium,* by Ellen N. La Motte. The Century Co.

Difficulty of International Education

When we compare the discussions in the United States Senate in regard to the League of Nations with the consideration of a broken-down car in a roadside garage the contrast is shocking. The rural mechanic thinks scientifically; his only aim is to avail himself of his knowledge of the nature and workings of the car, with a view to making it run once more. The senator, on the other hand, appears too often to have little idea of the nature and workings of nations, and he relies on rhetoric and appeals to vague fears and hopes or mere partisan animosity. . . . The Senator will . . . unblushingly appeal to policies of a century back, suitable, mayhap, in their day, but now become a warning rather than a guide. The garage man, on the contrary, takes his mechanism as he finds it, and does not allow any mystic respect for the earlier forms of the gas engine to interfere with the needed adjustments.—*The Mind in the Making,* by James Harvey Robinson. Harper and Brothers.

Unselfishness and the State

Some good men seem inclined to maintain that the action of a state toward other states ought to be the same as the action of an individual toward other individuals. But this contains a fallacy which one might think it should not be difficult to discern. We personify a state but a state is not a person. It contains a vast number of persons, and those who speak in its name and determine its policy act, not for themselves, but for others. It follows that all that department of morality which requires an individual to sacrifice himself to others, everything which falls under the heading of unselfishness, is inappropriate to the action of a state. No one has a right to be unselfish with other people's interests. It is the business of every ruler to exact to the utmost every claim which can both justly and wisely be made on behalf of his country. He is in the position of a trustee of the interests of others and must be just and not generous.—*Conservatism,* by Hugh Cecil. Williams Norgate. Quoted in *Source Book in the Philosophy of Education,* by William H. Kirkpatrick. Macmillan.

Military Training in Schools and Colleges of the United States, by Winthrop D. Lane. Committee on Military Training, 387 Bible House, Astor Place, New York.

Military Training in American High Schools and Colleges: The Case For and Against, by William I. Hull. World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches.

International Control of the Traffic in Opium. Foreign Policy Association.

The Schools of the World and the League of Nations: a 1925 Survey. Welsh Council of the League of Nations Union, Cardiff, Wales.

Shall We Commit Suicide? by Winston D. Churchill. Pamphlet reprinted from Nash's Pall Mall Magazine, September 24, 1924. Obtainable from Commission on International Justice and Goodwill, Federal Council of Churches, New York.

World Friendship in the Church School, by John Leslie Lobingier. University of Chicago Press. Study Course.

What Makes Up My Mind on International Questions? The Inquiry, 129 E. 52nd Street, New York City, 1926. Study outline.

Christian Fellowship among the Nations, by Jerome Davis and Roy B. Chamberlin. Pilgrim Press.

PART II

INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS

CHAPTER IX

RECIPROCITY OF SERVICE

Translating the ideals of Jesus into industrial and economic relationships means: A reciprocity of service —that group interests, whether of labor or capital, must always be integrated with the welfare of society as a whole, and that society in its turn must insure justice to each group.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

What do we understand by "reciprocity of service"?

How can we know when there is or is not "reciprocity of service"?

How may "reciprocity of service" on the part of economic groups be achieved in our community, in the nation and the world?

What outstanding instances are there of exploitation on the part of economic groups in our community? In the nation? In the world?

How can we determine whether a group is unjustly treated in the matter of wages? What is a just or fair wage? Why?

What is a just or fair reward for capital? For management? For employees? Why?

If a large surplus accumulates in an industry, how should it be divided among the consumers, the owners, the management, the employees?

Do these four groups have an equal claim upon a surplus that may be divided? If so, why? If not, why not?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

Concentration and Control of Wealth

The conclusion of Mr. R. H. Tawney that in an acquisitive society there is a tendency to create a class which lives without labor and to degrade those who do labor is verified by an examination of the actual facts in the United States.

Here we have an increasing congestion of wealth and power. We are told by Professor W. I. King that "two per cent of the population owns sixty per cent of the wealth," and that at the other end of the scale, "the poorest two-thirds of the people owns but a petty five or six per cent of the wealth."—*Wealth and Income,* W. I. King.

The Congressional investigation of the "Money Trust" in 1912 brought out the fact that "one hundred and eighty men have a controlling influence over capital far in excess of one-fourth of the wealth of America." (Quoted in N. L. Sims, *Ultimate Democracy,* p. 52 (1917).) Professor Sims tells us that "some 1,600 directorships in 100 of the leading railway and other industrial and money corporations are in the hands of 76 men. One man is on the board of 45 railroad companies." (Sims Ibid, p. 51.)—*Industrial Facts,* by Kirby Page. Doran.

The Hazards of the Employer

From an ethical point of view the employer is perhaps harder hit in industry than the worker. That is to say, he has to face most contradictory situations. Take for example, the employer who professes allegiance to Christian standards of conduct, who believes in the Golden Rule and the ideal of service and "stewardship." How can he live up to all these ideals and still build up his business on a margin so small that his employees have to live on less than even a conservatively estimated living wage?

A recent analysis of this problem, given by a well-known employer, is very illuminating in that it shows the ethical predicament in which a man with professed high ideals may find himself. Surely we shall make little headway in quest of the Christian ideal save as we take account of such actual situations and practical necessities as are here disclosed. This employer asked the question, "What is my duty as an employer of labor?" And he answered it in brief thus: "I must employ my men under good, wholesome conditions of work, and I must pay them just wages—but no more." Then he asked the question, "What is my duty to my employees as a man?" And in answer to it he reasoned thus: "If a workman has received just wages, has had everything from me that my duty as an employer dictates, and is still in need and comes to me as a

man for assistance, then as a brother, I must be generous with him. The two relationships are entirely separate and must not be confused." Now, the interesting thing about this analysis is that it is inevitable unless one questions the moral quality of the existing system of relationships. If "just" wages are determined by a law that has no reference to brotherhood, if corporate relations are one thing and personal relations another, then one need not be concerned about Christian ideals for industry. On that supposition one learns from economics how to be a good employer, and from ethics and religion how to be a good man. Whatever may be said of this dualism, no justification can be found for it in the New Testament.—Reprinted from *Christian Ideals in Industry,* by F. Ernest Johnson and Arthur E. Holt. Copyright, 1924, by F. Ernest Johnson by permission of the Methodist Book Concern.

The Responsibility of Labor

Organized labor in America is faced by an unusual opportunity. The liberal policy toward labor organizations which was adopted during the war under the patronage of the government was all but obscured during the depression period, but it is probable that in a fair test the public will support the right of labor, uncoerced and uncoercing, to organize on a trade union basis and to bargain collectively through appointed representatives for the improvement of its own conditions. It thus becomes more and more incumbent upon labor to make an earnest effort to introduce social ideals into industry.

The labor movement has a history of important achievement and of patriotic service. It promises to be greater in the future than in the past. But the public will increasingly insist, and the teachings of religion require, that in undertaking to serve the workers organized labor should serve the whole people. In no other way can the interest of labor itself be permanently advanced.—*Labor Sunday Message for 1923* of the Social Service Commission of the Federal Council of Churches.

One Attitude Toward Labor

An ideal location (for a silk mill) would be one in which labor is abundant, intelligent, skilled, and cheap; where there were no labor unions and strikes; where the laws of the state

made no restrictions as to the hours of work or age of workers; where people were accustomed to mill life; and where there were no other textile mills in the vicinity to share in the labor and bid up its price. . . . —An editorial in the silk manufacturers' official journal, quoted in the American Journal of Sociology, 22:169, September, 1916.

The Economic Order: What Is It? What Is It Worth? by John H. Gray. Doran.

Industrial Unrest: A Way Out, by B. Seebohm Rountree. Doran.

The Church and Industrial Reconstruction, by the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook. Association Press.

Christianity and Economic Problems. A discussion group textbook, edited by Kirby Page. Association Press.

The Social Principles of Jesus, by Walter Rauschenbusch. Association Press.

Coal, by Edward T. Devine. American Review Service Press.

The Coming of Coal, by Robert Bruère. Association Press.

The Social Task of the Church as Set Forth by the Lambeth Conference of 1920. The National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Facing the Crisis, by Sherwood Eddy. Doran.

The Church and Industrial Relations, edited by John A. Ryan and F. Ernest Johnson. *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, September, 1922.

CHAPTER X

PROPERTY — ITS RIGHTS AND DUTIES

Translating the ideals of Jesus into industry and economic relationships means: A frank abandonment of all efforts to secure something for nothing, and recognition that all ownership is a social trust involving Christian administration for the good of all and that the unlimited exercise of the right of private ownership is socially undesirable.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

What do we understand by "securing something for nothing"?

How can we determine when we get "something for nothing"?

In our experience have we secured "something for nothing"? What things?

If a man bought a house in our community for $5000 and sold it two months later for $6000, would he be receiving "something for nothing? Who contributed to him the $1000? How much of it has he earned? Should society give him what, if any, he had not earned? How might our economic order be planned so that individuals might not receive unearned increments?

What about a man who bought a house in our community for $5000 and several months later sold it for $4000?

Is "buying low and selling high" the policy for us to follow?

What could we as individuals do to change the practices of "buying low and selling high"?

If a man inherits $50,000 is he getting "something for nothing"?

If a man receives an income from owning property and lives in idleness, does he get something for nothing?

What must we do with our property in order to administer it "for the good of all"?

What kind of investment should we make in order to be sure our money will be used "for the good of all"?

What standards for investment have we at present?

Should Christians endeavor to work out distinctive standards of investment in terms of the way of Jesus? Was Jesus an investor? Can we get help from his example? From his spiritual attitude?

In what situations should we abandon all efforts to secure something for nothing? Are there situations in which we should not at present abandon those efforts?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

The Surplus for the Common Good

The labor party has no belief in any of the problems of the world being solved by good will alone. Good will without knowledge is warmth without light. Especially in all the complexities of politics, in the still undeveloped science of society, the labor party stands for increased study, for the scientific investigation of each succeeding problem, for the deliberate organization of research, and for a much more rapid dissemination among the whole people of all the science that exists. And it is perhaps especially the labor party that has the duty of placing this advancement of science in the forefront of its political program. What the labor party stands for in all fields of life is, essentially, democratic cooperation; and cooperation involves a common purpose which can be agreed to; a common plan which can be explained and discussed, and such a measure of success in adaptation of means to ends as will ensure a common satisfaction. An autocratic sultan may govern without science if his whim is law. A plutocratic party may choose to ignore science, if it is heedless whether its pretended solutions of social problems that may win political triumphs ultimately succeed or fail. But no labor party can hope to maintain its position unless its proposals are, in fact, the outcome of the best political science of its time; or to fulfil its purpose unless that science is continually wresting new fields from human ignorance.—Report of the British Labor Party, 1918.

Property Right and Use Right

A distinction between property rights and human rights is one of the commonest features of current writings on social theory. It is coming to be well recognized, however, that some of the most fundamental human rights are property rights, and that the distinction frequently emphasized needs sharper definition. Help in this direction is given by a concrete instance presented by Arthur E. Holt in an article on "Our Pagan Idea of Property" in the *Christian Century* for May 8, 1924. The concise statement can hardly be abbreviated: "The irrigated communities of the West are gradually building up a body of law and a profitable experience in making available for the use of the people the water resources of the great arid states. The early settlers who first caused the great American desert to blossom as the rose faced a new situation. There was no body of law governing property rights in water which laid an adequate basis for the communities which must be built up by irrigation. The only law available was the old English law which said that the water in a river belonged to the man who owned the bank of a river. This was manifestly an impossible point of view when the men who wished to deflect water from the river owned farms from ten to twenty miles away. Conflict necessarily arose between these men and the men who owned the banks of the river and therefore claimed the water in the stream. The controversy was taken to the courts. The judges saw that the old laws which had come down from England were entirely inadequate. They appealed to the law of the common welfare and set aside the English law as entirely inadequate. Gradually the courts and legislatures of the western states have built up a system of law organized around certain great principles which may be summarized as follows:

"The waters in the rivers of these states which are available for irrigation purposes belong to the state and are a public resource.

"The right to build irrigation systems shall be granted to private and semi-public corporations who shall be allowed to deflect the waters in these streams upon the land. These corporations cannot own the water but they can own the right to use the water.

"In determining who shall have the right to use the water

preference is given first to those who first filed their application for its use. Prior appropriation is a word to conjure by in irrigated territory.

"No corporation, public or private, has the right to any water for which it cannot show a beneficial use. Property right is subordinate to use right. You cannot own water in the state of Colorado unless you can show a use right for it. This one law forever stands between the people and a great monopolistic system built up on the power of a few to make the resources of the state scarce and expensive to those who have to live by them."

Christian Standards of Investment

A study of the Christian use of wealth was presented at the Manchester, England, regional Copec conference in 1925. according to the *Christian Science Monitor* for August 6. Among the suggestions considered by the group making the study were a committee to recommend investments which would meet Christian standards, the creation of a public utility society, the foundation of a Copec trust "which would guarantee that the money invested in it would be well spent," etc. The group felt that none of these recommendations could be carried out without a Copec bank in order to "Christianize credit." If such a bank were to be established it would be necessary to observe four main principles: greater publicity for accounts; restriction of profits; control of the bank's policy by the shareholders; public oversight of officials.—*Information Service,* Federal Council of Churches.

Usury As It Is Practiced

A frank account of "the usury game" appears in *The Magazine of Wall Street* for March 27, 1926. "It makes no difference," says the writer, "that 43 out of our 48 states have apparently stringent usury laws. It makes no difference what the rate of money is in Wall Street. Year in and year out, a great multitude of small business men, temporarily in a disadvantageous position, pay an appalling toll to the money lender."

Of the methods by which usury is exacted the writer says: "The most common form of usury is for a borrower, having an excellent line with a bank, to lend out the sums it has loaned

him at 7 per cent at higher rates of interest to less fortunate men. The medium in New York City may be a lawyer who sometimes spends less of his time at law than at amateur financing. This type of lawyer is ideal for this purpose because he knows fully the distresses of some of his clients and the prosperity of others. Here, circumstance marks him out as a natural broker."

The Tragedy of Waste, by Stuart Chase. Macmillan.

Mr. Chase presents his indictment of our economic organization against the background of war time industrial efficiency. With 13,500,000 of our 40,000,000 potential workers "turned into warriors"—*i.e.,* either in fighting units or in production of war supplies—the index of physical production rose from 112 in 1915 to 125 in 1918 (the period 1911-13 taken as a base at 100). This achievement aroused high hopes of permanent gains in efficiency but all ideas of "reconstruction" were soon forgotten. The great lesson was never really learned.

Four main channels of waste are indicated: (1) production of unserviceable goods—harmful drugs, "super luxuries," quackery, etc.; (2) unemployment in its various forms; (3) loss and leakage in the processes of production and distribution—over-equipment, duplication of services, restriction of output, faulty plant management, lack of cost accounting and research, etc.; (4) destruction of natural resources—coal, water power, oil, timber and the rest.

The Profit Motive, by Harry F. Ward. The League for Industrial Democracy.

The Christian Doctrine of Property, by John A. Ryan. The Paulist Press. Pamphlet reprinted from the Quarterly Bulletin of the Meadville Theological School, April, 1922.

Property, Its Duties and Rights, by Bishop Charles Gore and others. Macmillan.

Property from a Christian Standpoint, by Richmond Dean. *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, September, 1922.

An Employer's View of Property, by Henry S. Dennison. *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, September, 1922.

Profits, Wages and Prices, by David Friday. Harcourt, Brace and Company.

The Control of Wages, by Walton Hamilton and S. May. Doran.

The Ethics of Capitalism, by Judson Rosebush. Association Press.

CHAPTER XI

CHILDREN WHO TOIL

Translating the ideals of Jesus into industrial and economic relationships means: Abolishing child labor and establishing standards for the employment of minors which will ensure maximum physical, intellectual, and moral development.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

How do we define child labor?

Are there differences between healthful work which contributes to the education of children, and "child labor"? What are the differences?

Have we observed or experienced harmful child labor? In what forms? In what industries?

Do we believe that child labor should be abolished? How?

Do we believe that state laws should be enacted to abolish child labor?

What arguments have been advanced pro and con on the proposed amendment to the Constitution giving Congress power to regulate the employment of young persons? Do we believe that child labor should be controlled by national laws?

Why do labor unions generally favor the regulation of child labor?

Do our observations and experiences indicate that harmful employment of children on farms exists? How can we deal with harmful employment by parents of children on the farms?

Would it be better for a church to preach and teach reverence for childhood rather than to work for laws to regulate child labor?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

Harmful Industries

The man of the street smiles contemptuously at the idea of newspaper selling harming any healthy boy. The fact is that

newspaper selling is one of the largest contributing causes to delinquency among city boys, and for the sake of producing half a dozen exceptions who rise from newsboy to publisher, it is a chance too remote to take in behalf of handicapped boys.

Cruel as is physical waste of youth in textile industries, mills, foundries, factories, canneries, fruit, cotton, beet fields and the like, the writer is of the opinion that boys and girls suffer less permanent damage to character in industries which are productive, that is to say, where they can deal with processes of production, than in "service" industries such as "soda jerks," messenger, telephone operator, theatre-ushering, beauty-shop attendants, dance-hall instructors, waitresses, sales-ladies, chamber-maids, bell-boys, and "entertainers." In these latter pursuits it is mainly youth, beauty, charm, and vivacity which sell their service.—*Youth in Conflict,* by Miriam Van Waters. Republic Publishing Company.

How Many Children in the United States Are at Work?

In the United States in 1920 over one million (1,060,858) children 10 to 15 years of age, inclusive, were reported by census enumerators as "engaged in gainful occupations." This number was approximately one-twelfth of the total number (12,502,582) of children of that age in the entire country. The number of child workers 10 to 13 years of age, inclusive, was 378,063. The census does not report the number of working children under 10 years of age, but it is known that such children are employed in large numbers in agriculture, and in smaller numbers in many other occupations such as street trading, domestic service, and industrial home work.—*Child Labor in the United States,* Bureau Publication No. 114 by U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau.

In What Occupations Are Children Engaged?

Of the child workers 10 to 15 years of age, inclusive, in the United States in 1920, 647,309, or 61 per cent, were reported to be employed in agricultural pursuits, the majority (88 per cent) of them as laborers on the home farm. An even larger proportion, 87 per cent of the working children 10 to 13 years of age, inclusive, were at work in these occupations. There were 185,337 children, or 17.5 per cent of the total number

of working children under 16, employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries—cotton, silk, and woolen mills; cigar, clothing, and furniture factories; and canneries and workshops. Over 80,000 children were engaged in some type of clerical occupation; approximately 63,000 were in trade; 54,000, the majority of them were girls, were working at occupations classified under "domestic and personal service"; and 7,191—almost all of them boys—were employed in the extraction of minerals. Almost 25,000 children 10 to 13 years of age were reported as employed in trade and clerical occupations, over 12,000 in "domestic and personal service" and almost 10,000 in manufacturing occupations.—*Child Labor in the United States,* Bureau Publication No. 114 by U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau.

Controversies Over the Children's Amendment. Information Service of the Federal Council of Churches, Nov. 8, 1924.

Research Information on Essential Aspects of the Child Labor Amendment. The Commission on the Church and Social Service, Federal Council of Churches, 1924.

The Present Legal Status of Child Labor in the United States. Children's Bureau, U. S. Dept. of Labor, Publication No. 193, Fourth Edition, September, 1924.

Child Labor. Outlines of Study. Children's Bureau, U. S. Dept. of Labor, Publication No. 193, September, 1924.

A Twentieth Amendment? Information Service of the Federal Council of Churches, December 20, 1924. A summary of New York *World's* brief in opposition to the amendment.

Millstones. Issued by the Council of Women for Home Missions, Federation of Women's Boards of Foreign Missions of North America, National Board of the Y.W.C.A., 1925. Obtainable from any of these.

Legal Regulation of the Employment of Minors 16 Years and Over, by Ella Arviller Merritt, Children's Bureau. Sums up legislation as of July 1, 1924.

CHAPTER XII

THE WORKING DAY

Translating the ideals of Jesus into industry and economic relationships means: Freedom from employment one day in seven, the eight-hour day as the present maximum for all industrial workers.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

What groups of people work seven days of the week in our community?

How might they be given one day of rest in seven?

What are the effects of seven day labor upon the church, social institutions, the home?

Do we favor an eight-hour day as the maximum for all industrial workers?

Is the trend toward longer or shorter days for industrial workers in our community?

What are the social effects of the twelve-hour day for industrial workers?

Do we wish to create opinion in favor of a maximum eight-hour day for all industrial workers? How can this be done?

Under what circumstances should there be a working day of less than eight hours?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

Hours, 1925

A summary of industrial and economic data covering certain industries for 1925 has been published by the National Industrial Conference Board of New York (Bulletin No. 16). . . . Hours of work per week as shown by the Board's continuous surveys were as follows in November, 1925:

	Hours of Work Per Week
Agricultural implements	50.5
Automobile	46.8
Boot and shoe	44.5
Chemicals	53.5
Cotton—North	46.7
Cotton—South	49.7
Electrical manufacturing	47.5
Furniture	48.2
Hosiery and knit goods	46.1
Iron and steel	54.7
Leather tanning	48.8
Lumber and mill work	49.6
Meat packing	51.0
Paint and varnish	50.9
Paper and pulp	52.1
Paper products	46.4
Printing—Book and job	47.5
Printing—News and magazines	45.7
Rubber	43.3
Silk	47.4
Wool	45.1
Foundry and machine shop products	49.1
Average	48.5

(The report tabulates these figures at two-month intervals for the year, but the seasonal changes were inconsiderable; the November figures are the latest.)

Effects of the Twelve Hour Day

Of course the main argument is not that of cost and production but of the man and of the home. A twelve-hour day means at least thirteen hours away from home. When the shift is one of eleven to thirteen or of ten and fourteen hours the absence is by that much increased on the longer shifts. . . .

The twelve-hour day may mean as much as fifteen hours from home back to home again. Men come to live in the mill. They are little more than acquainted with their families. The long day keeps them away from home during waking hours

and sleep after the long night takes up the daylight time at home.—*The Twelve Hour Day in the Steel Industry.* Bulletin No. 3 issued by the Research Department of the Federal Council of Churches.

Crude Oil: Its Human Cost. A Challenge to Christian America, by Robert S. Lynd, reprint from the Survey Graphic (Done in Oil) November, 1922, obtainable from the Department of Research and Education, Federal Council of Churches, New York.

CHAPTER XIII

SAFEGUARDING INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS

Translating the ideals of Jesus into industry and economic relationships means: Providing safe and sanitary industrial conditions especially protecting women; adequate accident, sickness and unemployment insurance, together with suitable provision for old age.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

Are there industrial conditions in our community that cannot be described as "safe and sanitary"?

Do women need special protection in industry, including special laws?

Is there need of accident insurance among workers in our locality and state? If so, how should this be secured?

Is there need of sickness insurance among workers in our locality and state? If so, how should this be secured?

Is there need of unemployment insurance in our locality and state? If so, how should this be secured?

What is "suitable provision" for old age? How should we secure provision for all?

What experiences of other countries should provide lessons for us in considering other questions?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

Pros and Cons on Protection of Women in Industry

The question of the desirability of protective laws for women in industry has been raised by the proposed amendment to the federal Constitution giving equal rights to men and women. This proposal, for which the Woman's Party is agitating, would of course do away with all laws protecting women only. The different points of view on the question are clearly brought out in two articles in the February 15, 1925, issue of the *Survey*.

In the first, Frances Perkins, chairman of the N. Y. State Industrial Board, states the case in favor of such legislation. These laws were first passed during the latter part of the nineteenth century when the evils of the conditions under which women were working were first realized. The laws have been maintained because it was seen that, without such laws or if enforcement were lax, conditions tended to go back to the old levels. Miss Perkins explains that this is because the majority of workers in every state are in small establishments where scientific management has not been greatly developed and trade unions are weak.

Elizabeth Baker, instructor in economics at Barnard College, states the other side of the case. She explains that she is not a spokesman of the Woman's Party. Miss Baker considers that there is not yet sufficient knowledge to determine whether working women are benefited or "shackled" by protective legislation. Those who object to such laws claim that under such restrictions women cannot secure desirable occupations since the men who are not restricted as to laws are preferred by employers. She considers that men need protection quite as much as women. Where women are in the majority in industries protective laws are likely to benefit both men and women, but where women are in the minority protective laws are likely to cost them their jobs.

Loss Due to Industrial Accidents

The tremendous waste due to industrial accidents each year is illustrated by the statistics contained in the report of the Bureau of Workmen's Compensation of the Pennsylvania Department of Labor. These statistics are compiled from the records of the Bureau for January to September (inclusive), 1924. During this nine months' period 1,648 fatal and 132,084 non-fatal accidents were reported to the Bureau.

Treating the two branches of the coal industry as separate units, the largest number of non-fatal accidents in any single industrial group occurred in the metals and metal products with a total of 36,057 for the nine months' period. During this same period there occurred in this industry 202 fatal accidents. In anthracite coal mining for the period covered there were reported to the Bureau 22,703 non-fatal accidents and 393 fatal,

while in bituminous mining there were 17,672 non-fatal and 300 fatal accidents. Transportation and public utilities rank next with 13,304 non-fatal and 281 fatal accidents reported to the Bureau during the nine months, while in building and contracting there were 11,595 non-fatal and 161 fatal accidents reported. The state total for all industries as recorded by the Bureau during the nine months' period amounted to 132,084 non-fatal and 1,648 fatal accidents.

The greatest loss of time due to accidents reported to the Bureau occurred in anthracite coal mining with a total of 2,758,703 days. During the same nine months, bituminous mining ranks second with a total of 2,224,992 days; transportation third, with a total of 2,009,009 days; and metals and metal products fourth with 1,997,875. For the first nine months of 1924 in this one state alone there was a loss of 12,768,825 days due to accidents reported to the Workmen's Compensation Bureau of the state. In recording accident data, actual numbers are given: in recording days lost, the statistics are weighted according to the scale of time losses for weighing industrial accident disabilities recommended by the International Association of Industrial Accident Boards and Commissions.—*Information Service,* Federal Council of Churches.

Legislative Provision for Aid to Mothers:

Mother' Pensions.

1. Kansas gives between $15-$40 a month to a mother in need.
2. Illinois gives to destitute widowed mothers of children under 14 years of age, up to a maximum of $60 a month.—*The Sociology of Human Behavior,* by Daniel Harrison Kulp, Teachers' College, Columbia University.

Industrial Safety. Edited by Richard H. Lansburgh. *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, January, 1926. Forty-two articles on various aspects of industrial safety.

CHAPTER XIV

UNEMPLOYMENT

Translating the ideals of Jesus into industry and economic relationships means: An effective national system of public employment bureaus to make possible the proper distribution of the labor forces of America.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

Do we agree with the principle expressed in the statement?

What experience have we that a better distribution of the nation's labor supply is needed?

What reliable information is there about supply of labor in our locality?

What experience have we that industries in our community are "seasonal"?

Should the community take special care of all seasonal labor?

What provisions are made at present?

What improvements should be made?

How may we help?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

Thorough Study of Unemployment

"Averaging good and bad years, 10 to 12 per cent of all the workers in the United States (several millions of men and women) are out of work all of the time; widespread unemployment is now a constant phenomenon with far-reaching economic, social, psychological and moral bearings; in seeking work through certain types of commercial or fee-charging employment bureaus—particularly those dealing with unskilled and casual labor—thousands of men and women are being exploited." These are some of the facts brought out in a most important investigation of employment methods, needs, and agencies over a five-year period, published in 1924 by the Russell Sage Foundation. The study was made under the

direction of Shelby M. Harrison, Director of the Department of Surveys and Exhibits. The figures of the survey represent the country's experience during the last two decades, excluding the past year.

The establishment of a free nation-wide public employment service, to be maintained by the states in cooperation with the federal and local governments, for the benefit of men, women, and juniors in all walks of life, is the chief recommendation of those in charge of the study.

Unemployment Insurance Plan

Unemployment insurance was a feature of the agreement executed in June, 1924, between the Cloth Hat and Cap Manufacturers Association and the Joint Council of New York representing the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America. This fund is to be maintained by weekly payments of 4 per cent of the payroll. The plan went into effect on the first of September, 1924. The agreement also provides that work shall not be required "for any firm, member of the Association, which will work for or supply to any manufacturer or jobber during the pendency of strikes called or conducted by the Union against the latter firm"; and further that the Union "reserves the right not to permit its workers to perform work for any member of the Association who does any work for firms or who sells goods to firms against whom the Union has declared a strike, or who sends goods to such firms, its principals, agents, factors or jobbers during the pendency of such a strike, and the calling of a strike by the Union against a member of the Association, to enforce the right hereby reserved, shall not be construed as a violation of this collective agreement."

Can Business Prevent Unemployment? by Ernest G. Draper, Sam A. Lewisohn, John R. Commons and Don D. Lescohier. Alfred A. Knopf.

Two business men and two well-known economists have here collaborated in producing what is perhaps the most practical and suggestive discussion of the problem of unemployment that has been published in recent years. The authors set out to show "that the amount of unemployment in any one business or industry is often the measure of inefficiency in that

business or industry and that a reduction of unemployment is usually reflected in the balance sheet by an increase of net income." Their discussion is addressed mainly to producers and industrialists and it emphasizes chiefly what business men themselves can do, although considerable space is given to public policies for the relief of unemployment and to unemployment insurance. In a straightforward and popularly written narrative under the caption, "How Some of Us Have Met Unemployment," a rather captivating account is given of the efforts of various business and industrial concerns to deal with unemployment by removing its cause rather than by ministering to the social symptoms to which it gives rise. The control of unemployment, the authors insist, "is actually in the hands of the influential business executive and for it the business man is primarily responsible."

Cycles of Unemployment in the United States, by William A. Berridge. Houghton, Mifflin Company.

Employment, Hours and Earnings in Prosperity and Depression. United States 1920-1922, by William I. King. National Bureau of Economic Research.

CHAPTER XV

A MINIMUM COMFORT WAGE

Translating the ideals of Jesus into industry and economic relationships means: That the first charge upon industry should be a minimum comfort wage and that all labor should give an honest day's work for an honest day's pay.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

Do we agree that the first charge upon industry should be a minimum comfort wage?

How should this minimum comfort wage be determined?

Should a minimum comfort wage ever be set by legislature?

Should a minimum comfort wage be varied in accordance with the business concerned? Should it vary as the surplus of the industry varies? Should it be paid at such times when the industry operates at a loss?

What do *we* mean by an honest day's work?

What do *we* mean by an honest day's pay?

Who should determine when there has been an honest day's work for an honest day's pay? How?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

Low Wages

Not only is it true that millions of our people are living in actual poverty, a large proportion of our total population receive an income insufficient to enable them to maintain a decent or comfortable standard of living. The figures are easily obtained from the income tax returns. . . . The total number of . . . income tax returns for 1918 was 4,425,114.[1] Of these only 2,908,176 received an annual income of $2,000, and only 1,411,298 received an annual income of $3,000. If we multiply

(1) Treasury Department, U. S. Internal Revenue Statistics of Income Compiled from the Returns for 1918, published in 1921.

these figures by five, the size of the average American family —father, mother and three children under fourteen—we discover that less than 15 per cent of the families received a net income of $2,000 and less than 7 per cent received a net income of $3,000. These figures will appear all the more significant when it is recalled that the average increase in cost of living in 1918 over 1914 was approximately 75 per cent. . . .

The Final Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations states that "it is certain that at least one-third and possibly one-half of the families of wage earners employed in manufacturing and mining earn in the course of the year less than enough to support them in anything like a comfortable and decent condition."[2]

Women's wages are [on the whole] less adequate. In the survey made by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1919, of the 85,812 women employed in the 28 industries included in the survey, the average weekly wage was $13.54. Approximately 21 per cent received less than $11.00 per week, and approximately 15 per cent received less than $10.00 per week. A survey made by the Council of National Defence and Minnesota Bureau of Women and Children revealed that "17,459 women workers out of a total of 51,361, or 34.05 per cent, received less than a minimum subsistence wage." From the Tenth Biennial Report of the Department of Commissioner of Labor and Industrial Statistics of Louisiana, 1919-1920, we learn that of the 10,877 women employed in the department stores, offices and hotels investigated, 7,310, or 67 per cent, received less than $7 per week.—Reprinted from *Industrial Facts,* by Kirby Page, by permission of George H. Doran Company.

The Legal Minimum Wage

The several States should enact laws providing for the establishment of wage rates that will be at least sufficient for the decent maintenance of a family, in the case of all male adults, and adequate to the decent individual support of female workers. In the beginning the minimum wages for male workers should suffice only for the present needs of the

(2) Senate Document No. 415, 64th Congress, August 23, 1915, p. 22.

family, but they should be gradually raised until they are adequate to future needs as well. That is, they should be ultimately high enough to make possible that amount of saving which is necessary to protect the worker and his family against sickness, accidents, invalidity and old age.—*The Catholic Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction,* January, 1919.

Recent Wage Data

The International Labor Office published this year a report on *Wage Changes in Various Countries 1914-1925* which deals with money wages and real wages and which furnishes serviceable background for a study of wage movements. The report shows that in some countries money wages have shown a tendency toward stabilization since 1922 whereas in the United States there was an increase from 1922 to 1923, a decrease from 1923 to 1924, and negligible change during 1925. Of course, data on real wages are more illuminating than on money wages and in this connection the report shows that real wages in the United States were somewhat higher in 1924 and 1925 than they were in 1922, at which time they approximated the 1914 level.

The cost of living index for the United States based on 1913 average, according to the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, stood at 177.9 as of December, 1925, the highest it has been since September, 1921, and exceeded only during 1919, 1920, and early 1921.—*Information Service* of the Federal Council of Churches.

The "Living Wage"

Consider, for example, one of the foremost industrial standards and ideals that we have been talking about during the last decade. What is the net result of our advocacy of the "living wage"? That this concept, merely as a slogan, was helpful in connection with the budget method of determining wage issues cannot be questioned. Yet we are no more able now than we were at the end of the war to give definite content to the term. In the nature of the case, this is inevitably true. The term "living wage" defines a continually receding goal; the enrichment of the worker's life increases the minimum requisite for its support. But this is not all. The estab-

lishment of a minimum wage involves a careful scrutiny of the market. In practice, minimum wage commissions find it necessary to set the minimum so low that the majority of workers in the occupations covered by the award are not affected by it—so difficult is it to apply an arbitrary principle within the field of modern aggressive industrial competition. There are industries that are permanently underpaid in which the fixing of a minimum comfort wage would put the product entirely off the market, unless it were possible to effect a complete readjustment of the consumer's budget. . . . The only effectual approach to such a problem involves efficient continuance of the industry, growing out of the realization of joint risks. The concept of a living wage can have no definite content without reference to the product and to the social efficiency as a joint enterprise.—From the 1924 Report of the Committee on Ethical Forces in Advancing Standards in Industry of the National Conference of Social Work.

Wages and the Family, by Paul H. Douglas. University of Chicago Press.
A Living Wage, by John A. Ryan. Macmillan. Revised and abridged edition.
The Control of Wages, by Walton Hamilton and S. May. Doran.

CHAPTER XVI

INVESTIGATION—PUBLICITY—CONCILIATION—ARBITRATION

Translating the ideals of Jesus into industry and economic relationships means: Adequate provision for impartial investigation and publicity, conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

What serious industrial disputes have there recently been in our community or locality?

What industrial disputes have within the past few years affected our locality?

Was there provision for impartial investigation of these disputes? By whom? If not, should such provision be made in the future? Who should do the investigating?

Was it the policy of the parties in the dispute to allow impartial publicity? Should this be done in the future? How can it be secured?

What machinery exists in industries of our locality for conciliation and arbitration of industrial disputes? Should machinery be set up? What experience is there in our locality or elsewhere which can be of assistance in setting it up? Should this be done by industries? If not, by whom?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

Results of Arbitration

One of the most illuminating contributions that have been made to the philosophy of industrial relations is the article by Wm. M. Leiserson in the *Atlantic Monthly* for September, 1925. Mr. Leiserson is chairman of the board of arbitration for the men's clothing industry in Chicago. The article is made up of a collection of actual and typical cases that have arisen within his experience as an "impartial chairman." Some of

these cases involved disputes between employes; others, questions of the workers' efficiency, the introduction of new materials or labor-saving devices, etc.

When, for instance, English broadcloth, a silky all-cotton material was introduced for men's shirts, the union decared that since this material was as difficult to handle as silk the wage rate should be that paid for silk. The manufacturers finally admitted that such was the case and offered to pay the silk rate for pressing but not for operating. Situations like this are the more difficult to decide since there is no statute or common law or definite agreement between manufacturer and union on which decisions may rest. There are, however, as Mr. Leiserson points out, commonly accepted trade practices on which decision may be based. In this case it was found that materials classified as silk for pressing were uniformly in the trade so classified for operating. The manufacturers were ordered to pay the silk rate for work on the new material.

In the case of a man discharged for incompetence it was found that while the man had been careless, the shop had been poorly managed. Since both the employe and employer were equally guilty it was found possible to penalize both by discharging the employe and ordering the employer to pay two weeks' wages.

Where steam machines were introduced for the final pressing of men's coats the highly-skilled hand pressers stopped work though the employer had agreed to keep all the men at the wages they were then receiving. The men, however, felt that they would probably suffer either discharge or a reduction in wages when a new agreement should be made. Besides, the men felt that their skilled trade was their property and that this was being taken from them. In this connection, Mr. Leiserson points out that money invested is protected from similar losses by depreciation charges. Railways are protected from competing motor-bus lines, unless a real necessity for the bus lines can be shown. "It is well to remember that a workman has as much reason to fear the machinery that threatens the trade by which he earns a livelihood as the railroad or electric company has to fear motor-bus transportation."

Mr. Leiserson points out further that fair dealing and "an honest day's work" are not sufficient answers to these questions

for the real problem is to discover what honor, fairness and justice require in such cases.

In conclusion, Mr. Leiserson says: "However bitter the conflicts between employers and wage-earners, I have found it rare indeed that anyone concerned in them consciously wanted to do the wrong or unjust thing. The conflicts came because it is so difficult to tell what is right in these industrial affairs. The standards by which employers, managers, wage-earners, investors, and consumers measure industrial justice are not the same. And until a common standard is attained none of us can be sure that he knows what is right and wrong in labor relations. But out of the hundreds of disputes decided every day in many of our industries, as the cases above were decided, a common standard of industrial justice is slowly being achieved."

This is the reason why students of modern industry so generally disapprove the clamping of arbitration upon industry by compulsion of the state.—*Information Service,* Federal Council of Churches.

The Need of Research

The Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship (commonly called C. O. P. E. C.), held in Birmingham, England, in April, 1924, declared: Much of the success of the work here recommended must depend upon the activity of a competent Research Department. We would not, of course, propose to duplicate research work that is being done already, but it is imperative that the leaders and guides of Christian thought should have always accessible on subjects of moment full and reliable knowledge of social facts and of the latest results of sociological thinking. There is also a distinctive sphere for a Research Department of the Churches. The subject matter here would not be the social need and agency, which are the province of the scientist and the social reformer; it would rather be the ideas and inspirations, the proposals and experiments to which Christian people are being constantly led by their Christian faith, but which remain unknown to their fellow-Christians, and, because unknown and therefore unrevised in the light of wider Christian experience, are often comparatively unfruitful. No publication would be distinctive

enough, no local crusade or public pronouncement would have the necessary combination of nascent moral energy and collective wisdom without an adequate background of distinctive research work. We would therefore commend this provision for research work as the most essential element of all in the united organization of the future. To be adequate it must be continuous, and therefore adequately staffed with permanent officers, for no committee work can suffice without proper staff work to support it.

CHAPTER XVII

THE RIGHT OF LABOR TO ORGANIZE

Translating the ideals of Jesus into industry and economic relationships means: The right of labor to organize with representatives of its own choosing and, where able, to share in the management of industrial relations.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

Do we agree that labor should have the right to organize with representatives of its own choosing? Why?

May an organization of workers within one company, started on the initiative of the management, allowing the workers to elect their officers, meet the requirements of the principles in the Statement of Social Faith?

How would it differ from the ordinary trade union?

Should an organization within one company have all the powers of a trade union in order fully to protect labor?

What types of labor organizations are represented in our locality or affect our locality? Have we any instances of organizations within one company? What trade unions?

What have been our contacts and experiences with these organizations?

Have we any contact or experience in industries where labor shares in the management of industrial relations?

What information have we about other localities that will be of assistance?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

Labor Participation in Industrial Management

It is to be hoped that this right [of organization by labor] will never again be called in question by any considerable number of employers. In addition to this, labor ought gradually to receive greater representation in what the English group of Quaker employers have called the "industrial" part of business management—"the control of processes and machinery; nature of product; engagement and dismissal of em-

ployees; hours of work, rates of pay; bonuses, etc.; welfare work; shop discipline; relations with trade unions." The establishment of shop committees, working wherever possible with the trade union, is the method suggested by this group of employers for giving the employees the proper share of industrial management. There can be no doubt that a frank adoption of these means and ends by employers would not only promote the welfare of the workers, but vastly improve the relations between them and their employers, and increase the efficiency and productiveness of each establishment.—*The Catholic Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction, 1919.*

Cooperation of Labor and Management

Evidence that labor is ready to assume . . . responsibility for higher standards of industrial service is revealed in the experience of the last few years on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. It will be recalled that the president of the B. and O. led the way toward a settlement of the shopmen's strike by promulgating what has come to be known as the Baltimore Agreement. Taking advantage of the return of peace and friendly relationships, the shop crafts, under the leadership of technical advisers, offered to assume joint responsibility for making the worst shop on the road—worst, i.e., with respect to production and discipline—a paying proposition. A remarkable degree of success has already been attained and the joint efforts of company and employes are now being extended to other points on the system.

A contract recently entered into provides for the stabilization of employment by utilizing the facilities of the Baltimore and Ohio to the fullest possible extent for the maintenance, rebuilding and remodeling of locomotives and car equipment as well as for the manufacture of supplies and material needed for mechanical and other purposes. It recognizes the possibilities of constructive cooperation by the employes in matters of shop operation and output and implies an equitable share between shopmen and the railroad in the benefits of cooperation. The plan provides for local joint committees at 45 designated points on the railroad and for a joint system cooperative committee. The function of these committees is the discussion of questions relating to planning and carrying on

the work.—*Information Service,* Federal Council of Churches.

Breakdown of Collective Bargaining

During the recent meetings of the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches of England, a sociological conference was held, at which Professor Ramsay Muir spoke on relations between employers and employes. The substance of Professor Muir's address is thus summarized in *The Free Church Chronicle* for April, 1926: "It seemed to him clear that the industrial system which existed in this country [England] was on the verge of a breakdown. By this he did not mean capitalism, but the system of collective bargaining under which two essential factors in production were arrayed in highly organized hostile armies against each other. The system might be brought to an end by means of a conflict which, whatever side wins, must mean ruin to the community. It might, on the other hand, be ended by the organization in its stead of an effective method of cooperation. If that came about, then we should in this generation be passing into a new stage in the age-long story of the development of the methods by which men had got to get the work of production done. In his opinion the crux of the controversy turned upon the just distribution of the results of that cooperation. The distribution would have to be radiantly and obviously just before it would create peace."

Collective Bargaining, by Kirby Page. Doran.
Modern Industrial Relations, by John Calder. Longmans Green & Co.
The Question of Recognizing the Union. The Inquiry.
Industrial Relations and the Churches, edited by John A. Ryan and F. Ernest Johnson. *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, September, 1922.
Labor Policy of the United States Steel Corporation, by Charles A. Gulick, Jr. Longmans Green & Co.
The United States Steel Corporation, by Kirby Page. Doran.
The Causes of Industrial Unrest, by John A. Fitch. Harper & Brothers.
Employes' Representation in Coal Mines, by Ben M. Selekman and Mary Van Kleeck. Russell Sage Foundation.
Employes' Representation in Steel Works, by Ben M. Selekman. Russell Sage Foundation.
Sharing Management with the Workers, by Ben M. Selekman. Russell Sage Foundation.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE RIGHT OF THE CONSUMER TO ORGANIZE

Translating the ideals of Jesus into industry and economic relationships means: Encouragement of the organization of consumers' cooperatives for the more equitable distribution of the essentials of life.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

How does a consumers' cooperative society differ from a business corporation?

What are the purposes of consumers' cooperative societies?

What consumers' cooperative societies have we had in our locality?

What have our contacts and experiences been with them?

What factors in American life encourage and which hinder the organization of consumers' cooperative societies?

Do we believe that we should encourage them?

What are the essentials of their success?

What consequences may we expect if they are widely organized? What benefits? What changes in the business life of the community?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

The Cooperative Movement

. . . . The cooperative movement is an organization of consumers. The purpose of the cooperative movement is to organize consumers so that through cooperative buying they may be able to avoid exploitation at the hands of manufacturers and distributors. It seeks . . . . to aid the consumer in purchasing direct from the manufacturer or grower, and to own its factories and acreage.

The cooperative movement now exists in almost all countries of the world. Dr. James Peter Warbasse tells us that "in

Europe it now embraces one-third of the population, and carries on every form of useful industry; some of these are the largest of their kind. In some countries a majority of the people are included in the cooperative movement. The organized societies in each country are federated in the world movement through the International Cooperative Alliance."

In England especially the movement has assumed huge dimensions. There are now 1,467 societies, with 4,182,019 members, with annual sales for the factories, wholesale and retail stores, of approximately $1,500,000,000 (£324,781,079), with a capital of approximately $450,000,000 (£98,801,231), with an annual net surplus of approximately $100,000,000 (£21,809,563) to be divided among the members, with 187,535 employees.

From the *British Labour Year Book* of 1919 we learn that "the Wholesale Societies now own 17,519 acres of tea plantations in Ceylon and Southern India, and in 1917, the English C. W. S. bought 10,000 acres of wheat lands in Canada, concessions on the West Coast of Africa and in Nigeria; several farms at home, making it the owner of 12,400 acres in the counties of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cambridge, Herefordshire, Cheshire, and Shropshire; it also acquired several textile mills, bought a colliery, and started a margarine works."

The movement in the United States has grown rapidly within recent years, especially among farmers and trade union members. There are now more than 3,000 cooperative stores in the United States. The idea behind the cooperative movement is fundamentally sound. Cooperative buying is certain to increase. This movement deserves careful study and earnest support. It has an important contribution to make.—Reprinted from *Industrial Facts,* by Kirby Page, by permission of George H. Doran Company.

A Defense of Economic Cooperation

Cedric Long, executive secretary of the Cooperative League, the educational organization of the consumers' movement in the United States, has written a defense of economic cooperation which embodies some of the main points put forward by protagonists of the movement. Here are some of the points Mr. Long makes: "My thesis is merely this: that our most pressing underlying problems are economic problems; and that

the most fundamental, the soundest, the most universal solution to the problems of production, distribution and credit is the cooperation solution. . . .

"It is an economic movement rather than a religion. . . . Some of us believe, however, that as it creates a better economic order and substitutes cooperative for competitive action between men, the service for the profit motive, it will indirectly have a marked effect upon the social and intellectual (perhaps even the religious) life of mankind. . . .

"Cooperation claims as some of its chief merits: First, the fact of its universal economic appeal; second, its freedom from the coercive methods used by the socialistic or any other state; third, its progress according to evolutionary rather than revolutionary methods. . . .

"We believe that the cooperative movement can ultimately separate the capitalist from his ill-gotten gain, the petty farmer from his arrogance, the labor militant from his cock-sureness; and unite them all on the basis of their common needs. . . ."

How Cooperatives Differ From Corporations

The methods are summarized as follows by Dr. J. P. Warbasse, president of the Cooperative League of the United States of America:

1. Each member shall have one vote and no more.

2. Capital invested in the society, if it receives interest, shall receive not more than a fixed percentage which shall be not more than the minimum prevalent rate.

3. If a surplus-saving ["profit"] accrues, by virtue of the difference between the net cost and the net selling price of commodities and service, after meeting expenses, paying interest [wages to capital] and setting aside reserve and other funds, the net surplus-saving shall be used for the good of the members, for beneficent social purposes, or shall be returned to the patrons as savings-returns ["dividends"] in proportion to their patronage.—*Cooperative Democracy,* by J. P. Warbasse. Reprinted by permission of the Macmillan Company.

Publications of The Cooperative League, 167 West 12th Street, New York City.

CHAPTER XIX

IS SERVICE AN INCENTIVE?

Translating the ideals of Jesus into industry and economic relationships means: The supremacy of the service, rather than the profit motive in the acquisition and use of property on the part of both labor and capital, and the most equitable division of the product of industry that can be devised.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

What is implied in the supremacy of the service over the profit motive in the working of investments? In the receiving of remuneration for work? In the paying of money for work performed? In other situations? (Select some situation in which a member of the group has found himself.)

Do we need to revise the current standard of buying low and selling high?

What do we need in the way of changes in our social organization in order to allow the service motive to flourish more fully than in the past?

Will the service motive spread among individuals best by our preaching and teaching it or best by our changing rules and customs within industry?

What principles should be observed in dividing the product of industry so as to be fair to the public, the owners, and the employees? E.g., considering the employees, should wages, in order to be fair, be the average in the industry, or above the average in the industry, or be sufficient to meet a minimum standard of living, or include as much of the surplus as goes to the owners or what?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

Whence Dynamic?

Is spiritual dynamic for ethical ends something that is to be acquired and stored ready for use, or is it to be developed

through actual ethical struggle and endeavor? Will it be discovered best by search for it as such, or is it to be found in the search for truth and right in the stress and strain of life? Will the passion of Jesus best be understood as an object of contemplation and of adoring worship, or as one comes to understand its meaning where life is actually in process?

Who is competent to undertake the "radical task of analyzing the history of Protestant religious tradition in order that the cause of its social ineffectiveness may be discovered"? And granted that a true diagnosis were arrived at, what effect on individual or social attitudes, temper or ethical procedure, could be expected from it? Would it be more helpful to religious or social progress than a discovery by groups here and there as to how ethical ideals can really be brought to function in life problems and situations?

Intellectually you hunt around until you find a perfect way of living. Then you ask, "How can I get enough energy to put it across?" This is the way in which, it is assumed, progress comes; a group finds a plan for meeting a problem and then looks around for reinforcements.

But that is not actually the way. We are working on situations in which we are so concerned that we have *got to* find a way out. If you are not enough concerned to seek a way out, if your dynamic is not inherent in your process, then your process is worthless. . . . I have been in a number of groups where in this process people have found the deepest spiritual values. On those occasions we had the experience of a group of people who searched until they found something it was possible to work on. Out of the fellowship of that search came deep religious convictions. But we are not making this clear to ourselves. We get restless. We still look upon will power as something to be worked up in one way or another when really it is a strengthening of purpose, and the purpose comes out of the situation in which we want to do something. Dynamic, therefore is all tied up in that.—*The Inquiry,* January, 1926.

Are the Motives of Jesus Practicable?

Let us . . . . raise the question: Are the motives of Jesus practicable in modern business and professional life? . . . .

The self-denial and unselfish service of Jesus are not contrary to human nature. The task before us is not the changing of human nature but the creation of situations in which the more social tendencies may more easily be given expression.

The task before us is not an impossible one. The motives of Jesus are natural to man at his best and can be applied in modern business and professional life. They must be applied if life is to be made tolerable for mankind. The difficulties in the way of their application are stupendous. Courage of a high order is demanded. And yet in other realms men are not dismayed by obstacles. Behind the desk of one of the great industrial leaders of the nation is a small electric sign which he illuminates at psychological moments. It reads: CAN'T MUST BE OVERCOME.

This is the attitude pre-eminent for the Christian with regard to the obstacles which block the way to the application of the motives of Jesus in modern business and professional life. Can't *must* be overcome.—Reprinted from *Incentives in Modern Life,* by Kirby Page, by permission of George H. Doran Company.

The Acquisitive Society, by R. H. Tawney. Harcourt Brace & Co.

Human Nature and Conduct, by John Dewey. Henry Holt & Co.

The Profit Motive, by Harry F. Ward. League for Industrial Democracy.

Incentives in the New Industrial Order, by J. A. Hobson. Thomas Seltzer.

The Social Principles of Jesus, by Walter Rauschenbusch. Association Press.

Christianity and Economic Problems, edited by Kirby Page. Association Press.

PART III

AGRICULTURE

CHAPTER XX

A FAIR REWARD FOR FARMING

Translating the ideals of Jesus into agriculture means: That the farmer shall have access to the land he works, on such terms as will ensure him personal freedom and economic encouragement, while society is amply protected by efficient production and conservation of fertility.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

In our experience do farmers have access to land assuring them the same personal freedom and economic encouragement, as are reasonably to be expected by persons setting up other industries?

What do the recent researches indicate as to the economic encouragement of agriculture as compared with other industries?

What are some of the chief causes of the economic handicaps of agriculture?

What are some of the steps being taken to improve agricultural conditions?

In our experience is it correct to say that in some sections of the country, the American farmer has been a miner of the soil, a robber of its fertility? What have been some of the factors which have led to this condition?

Has the proportion of tenants on American farms been increasing or decreasing? Should ownership rather than tenantry be encouraged? Why? How?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

Statistics of Farmers' Incomes

Mr. L. H. Bean, of the Division of Statistical and Historical Research of the United States Department of Agriculture, sums up the Department's data in an article in the *Handbook of Rural Social Resources,* (University of Chicago Press, 1926) as follows:

REWARD FOR LABOR AND MANAGEMENT CONTRIBUTED BY OPERATORS AND THEIR FAMILIES

Year July 1-June 30	Net income per operator and family	Interest allowance on net capital investment, per operator	Reward per operator and family for labor and management	Wages (without board) paid to hired labor, per year
	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars
1919-20	1,269	322	947	675
1920-21	720	319	401	779
1921-22	543	249	294	520
1922-23	701	230	471	501
1923-24	764	233	531	563
1924-25	876	227	649	569

In interpreting these returns it is important to observe (a) that during the four years, 1920-1923, farmers paid hired labor more than they themselves earned per family; (b) that of the $543 net income in 1921-22 only slightly more than $200 was in cash, the balance being the value of food contributed by the farm to family living, while in 1924, of the $876 net income, about $500 was in cash; and (c) that out of these meager cash incomes the average farmer had to purchase manufactured foods, clothing, and building materials at prices which had not declined in proportion to the decline in farm income, to pay principal on debts, and to provide a certain amount of recreation and education for his family. The inadequacy of these cash earnings, and the retrenchment in the average farmer's standard of living, is reflected in the financial condition of those industries which find in the farm population the outlet for their manufactured goods. It is seen also in statistics on delinquent taxes, unpaid debts, and bankruptcies among farmers.

Farmers' Standards of Living

Certain studies of the total value of all goods consumed by 2,883 farm families in selected localities in nine states for the year ending December 31, 1923, have been completed by the United States Department of Agriculture. Some of the results presented by Dr. E. L. Kirkpatrick, who conducted the study, were as follows: There was an average of 4.2 persons per

family and 4.6 per household. The total value of all goods consumed was $1.503.90 per family, of which 42.1% was furnished by the farm and 57.9% was purchased. The total consumption of goods per family was divided into the following groups:

Food	41.2%
Clothing	14.7%
Rent (10% of value of house)	12.4%
Furnishing and equipment	2.7%
Operation expenses	13.9%
Maintenance of health	3.9%
Advancement*	6.3%
Personal	2.4%
Insurance	2.3%
Unclassified	.2%
	100.0%

Dr. Kirkpatrick stated that the figures indicate that farm families vary their distribution of consumption very considerably as the total expenditure changes. For example, considering the item of advancement above, it is found that when the total value of all goods used per family is less than $600, 1.9% goes for advancement, and that as the total income rises the expenditures for this item also increase. They amount to 12.2% of the total for those families whose total consumption of goods is valued at $2,700 a year or over.

The following generalizations are made by Dr. Kirkpatrick: "As the total value of all goods used per family increases:

"(a) The percentage for food decreases.

"(b) The percentage for clothing increases markedly although somewhat irregularly. This corresponds to 20th century families studied, but differs widely from 19th century European families.

"(c) The percentage for rent remains constant or increases very slightly. This is different from United States industrial families, studied about 1918, for which rent showed a considerable decrease.

* Includes formal education, reading matter, organization dues, contributions to religious organizations, Red Cross and welfare work, recreation.

"(d) The percentage for all other goods [than food, clothing and rent] increases. This in accordance with studies of other than rural families."

The Farmer, the Town and the City

Dr. Arthur E. Holt, professor of social ethics at Chicago Theological Seminary, contributes an interesting article on "The Farmer, the Town and the City" to the *Adult Bible Class Magazine* for April, 1925.

Dr. Holt prophesies that the next great controversy in America will be between the farmer and the consumer of his products. In Europe it has already reached a more advanced stage than in this country. He suggests several steps which might be taken to make it less serious. People in the small towns should realize that their interests are linked up with agricultural producers, not with the big cities. Farmers should be invited to join the clubs and churches of the trade centers and business men should encourage the organization of farmers' cooperatives. At the same time consumers' cooperatives should be organized in the cities so that the consumers and producers may have a reasonable degree of equality in bargaining power. But the most important thing is, according to Dr. Holt, that the church should be helping the entire movement.

"The church must see in the organization of the farmers' cooperative a first duty on the part of the farmer. After the farmer has achieved equality of bargaining power the church should preach the old doctrine of a fair price to both consumer and producer. It should interpret a 'bargain' as an interchange of goods in which both parties are benefited. It is not a phase of war but of peace. It is a part of that process by which the hungry world is fed. It is evil when, as has been the case for the last few years, the producer is compelled to sell his goods at less than cost."

The Rural Mind and the Economic Order. The Social Service Bulletin of the Methodist Federation of Social Service, May 1, 1926.

Handbook of Rural Social Resources, edited by Henry Israel and Benson Y. Landis. University of Chicago Press.

Our Debt and Duty to the Farmer, by Henry C. Wallace. The Century Company.

Farm Tenancy in the United States, by E. A. Goldenweiser and Leon E. Truesdell. Government Printing Office.

CHAPTER XXI

THE HIGH COST OF DISTRIBUTION

Translating the ideals of Jesus into agriculture means: That the cost of market distribution from farmer to consumer shall be cut to the lowest possible terms, both farmers and consumers sharing in these economies.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

In our experience, have the costs of distributing farm products been increasing or decreasing? Why?

What illustrations have we of what appear to be excessive costs of distributing the products of the farm?

With what studies of cost of distribution are we familiar? What do these indicate?

What would be involved in cutting the cost of distributing, e.g., wheat and wheat products to the lowest possible terms? What should be done about excessive profits in an industry?

How should economies be brought about?

Can the middleman, i.e., a marketing agency, be eliminated? Can the number of middlemen be reduced? In what instances has it been accomplished?

How could consumers' cooperative societies help?

Could farmers and urban consumers of their products be linked together in one organization? In what situations?

How could organized farmers and organized consumers work together?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

Cost of Distributing Wheat and Bread

In his detailed report on *The Wheat Situation,* sent to the President on November 30, 1923, Secretary of Agriculture Wallace wrote: "The spread between the price paid to the producer of wheat and price paid by the consumer of bread has widened very materially since 1913.

"The retail price of a 16-ounce loaf of bread in Washington, D. C., has increased from 5.45 cents in September, 1913, to 9 cents in September, 1923. This advance in bread prices has not benefited the farmer. The portion received in 1913 by the wheat grower for the wheat equivalent of flour used in baking the Washington loaf was about one-fifth of the retail price of bread; in 1923 it amounts to less than one-sixth. While the wheat grower's portion of the retail price of bread has increased during this period less than one-third of a cent, the margins above have increased a total of 3¼ cents.

"The margins between the mill and the retailer are, therefore, of most interest to the consumer, but the margins between the farm and the terminal market are of special concern to the farmer. According to the best available evidence the margins for the services of local and terminal handling agencies as well as those of transportation agencies bear down heavily upon the wheat grower."

Waste in Marketing

A study of the costs of marketing fruit and vegetables in the New York district was recently made by the Port of New York Authority cooperating with the U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics. The study revealed a serious form of social waste. It was found that of every dollar spent for Northwestern apples in the New York district 47 cents were required for retail and jobbing margins. The long road haul of a sack of Michigan potatoes costs less than the terminal handling and truck haul to jobber and retailer.

The high cost of trucking is due largely to the fact that the trucks are engaged in productive service only a little more than a third of the time. The rest is consumed in delays at terminals and stores, trips with part loads, etc. There seems to be little hope of reducing trucking costs since excess equipment must be maintained to provide for rush service and "the wide seasonal and daily variation in traffic volume." "The soundest program for reducing trucking expense appears to be the provision of new receiving facilities and methods of handling which shall minimize the amount of trucking necessary within the terminal area."

Terminal handling, however, costs less than 10 per cent of

the price paid by consumers. Shrinkage of quantity in such commodities as potatoes, cabbages, etc., means an average loss of slightly under 5 per cent for the retailer, and spoilage of perishables averages slightly more than 5 per cent. Rapid changes in the wholesale prices of perishables are an element in the jobbers' margins.

Credit and delivery costs are also high. A study of stores which offer credit and delivery and those on a strictly cash-carry basis showed an average difference of 14 per cent in prices. It was also found that the cost of making sales was practically the same for a small sale as for a large one.

Efficient Marketing for Agriculture, by Theodore Macklin. Macmillan.
Waste, by Stuart Chase. Macmillan.

CHAPTER XXII

THE RIGHT OF THE FARMER TO ORGANIZE

Translating the ideals of Jesus into agriculture means: There shall be every encouragement to the organization of farmers for economic ends, particularly for cooperative sales and purchases.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

Is it fair to expect farmers to sell their products individually in our present market régime? Why?

What are the handicaps of individual action?

For what reason should collective sales be encouraged?

What are our contacts and experiences with cooperative selling by farmers?

What are the advantages and limitations of such cooperative action?

What are our contacts and experiences with cooperative buying of supplies by farmers?

What are the advantages and limitations of such cooperative action?

What effects may we expect upon social (i.e., non-economic) and religious institutions of the rural districts through the organization of economic cooperation? Why? What is the experience in the United States and other countries?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

Ventures in Cooperation

Perhaps the "biggest thing" in rural America during the past five years has been the development of cooperative marketing. Farmers contend that the existing marketing

agencies receive too much reward and profit and that these services can be improved. Therefore one-sixth of the farmers of the country have joined cooperative marketing associations which they allege promise them better rewards and more efficient distribution.—*Information Service,* Federal Council of Churches.

Review of Cooperative Marketing

A concise review of the possibilities and limitations of the farmers' cooperative marketing movement was recently made by Dr. H. E. Erdman of the division of rural instructors of the University of California, one of the best students of the economic aspects of the topic. Some of the benefits most likely to be realized immediately by a well organized cooperative are those resulting from standardization of varieties of products and improvement of production. "Members of a cooperative association often resent having the management discuss production. The management, in their opinion, has been hired to sell. It must be remembered, however, that the management is in a position to know what varieties and qualities the market demands. . . ." An efficient cooperative may stabilize production, control the flow of products to market, advertise the product and develop new markets, finance marketing operations and provide collective bargaining for farmers. Professor Erdman points out that experience has taught that cooperative marketing associations cannot arbitrarily fix prices, that they cannot "eliminate the middleman" (they are themselves marketing agencies which perform the functions of the so-called middlemen) and that they cannot "greatly" reduce marketing costs. Other problems are the following: "It is difficult to maintain harmony between management and members, members become careless in voting and selecting officers, there is a tendency [among managers] toward extravagance, outsiders sometimes get higher prices than members even when an organization is functioning efficiently and members of a new organization often expect impossibilities." Dr. Erdman says that the benefits of cooperation can only be achieved slowly and that "it will be long before the possibilities of cooperative marketing are realized."—*Christian Science Monitor.*

Cooperatives are "Settling Down"

The cooperative movement, the most significant post-war movement in rural America, reached in 1925 a period which has been variously described as one of reorganization or readjustment or "settling down." Following a period of rapid expansion—considered too rapid by many students—the year was marked by numerous changes within organizations and by a few conspicuous failures. In a recent estimate of the movement made before the National Association of Marketing Officials, Dr. E. G. Nourse, associate editor of the Institute of Economics, and one of the best informed students of agricultural cooperation, said: "Cooperation is now going through a 'settling down' process. There is a pronounced 'get-together' movement among cooperative organizations and progress is now being made in the study of all phases of cooperative marketing experience in the United States."

In fact the sum of experience in cooperative marketing during the past decade indicates that cooperation is a really effective technique only when it is accompanied by other favorable factors in the agricultural situation; such as: production of a commodity in quantities that can be readily absorbed by demand, adequate credit, able farm management that can achieve low-cost production, a social ethic in the rural community which generates loyalty of cooperation at all costs.—*Information Service,* Federal Council of Churches.

Social Aspects of Farmers' Cooperative Marketing, by Benson Y. Landis. University of Chicago Press.

Cooperative Marketing, by Benson Y. Landis, Chapter in *Handbook of Rural Social Resources.* University of Chicago Press.

Cooperation in Denmark, by Chris. L. Christenson. United States Department of Agriculture.

CHAPTER XXIII

FAIR PLAY FOR RURAL EDUCATION

Translating the ideals of Jesus into agriculture means: That an efficient system of both vocational and general education of youths and adults living on farms shall be available.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

In our experience are rural or urban systems of education more efficient? Why?

Is more money spent on the average to educate the average urban than the average rural child? Why?

What are the peculiar conditions surrounding the conduct of rural schools?

Are rural teachers as well equipped as urban teachers? Should they be? Should the child on the farm be allowed to have an inferior system of education?

Should the wealthier states of the country, through taxation, contribute money toward the education of children in states which have comparatively little wealth? Are these wealthier states inclined to approve such helpful plans? How could this be brought about?

Is agriculture peculiarly in need of a good system of vocational education? Why? How should it be set up? What agencies are at work? Is more being done already in vocational training for farming than for many other vocations? Why?

Should the general education of farm youth (e.g., the elementary education of the first six grades) have as an aim to make particular efforts to retain children on farms or should it seek to give children experiences of life with no undue emphasis upon farm life, or should it do something else?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

Data About Rural Education

There are about 175,000 one-teacher public schools in the United States with an average of 25 pupils, 12,000 two-teacher schools averaging 50 pupils and 15,000 consolidated schools averaging 100 pupils. The total enrollment of rural schools is approximately 6,500,000. Over 250,000 teachers are employed. (Estimates by Professor Mabel Carney, Columbia University, an authority on rural education.) The amount spent per capita in educating rural school children is considerably less than that spent for urban children. Salaries of teachers in rural districts are much lower than in the city. Typical surveys of state educational systems show that the great majority of young, untrained, transient teachers are in the rural schools, but steady progress is being made in teacher training. More than half of the country's normal schools and twenty-four state high school systems now offer special instruction to prepare rural teachers.—*Information Service,* Federal Council of Churches.

Data on Vocational Instruction in Agriculture

AGRICULTURE IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The . . . 1924 report of the Federal Board for Vocational Education . . . is . . . the source of the following data regarding teachers employed and pupils enrolled:

Teachers and pupils in schools for vocational agriculture

Year	Teachers	Pupils
1918	995	15,453
1919	1,201	19,933
1920	1,570	31,301
1921	2,071	43,352
1922	2,290	60,236
1923	3,012	71,298
1924	3,454	85,984

These two tables show a steady and consistent growth in expenditures from all sources and in enrollment of pupils. This is of special interest in view of the farming depression of the past few years.

The enrollment in vocational agriculture for the various types of work is shown by the following figures from the 1924 report of the Federal Board for Vocational Education:

Enrollment in vocational agriculture by types of work

Year	Evening	Part time	All day	Short unit
1918	.....	.....	15,453	.....
1919	.....	.....	19,933	.....
1920	.....	.....	31,301	.....
1921	1,139	1,445	40,763	.....
1922	1,333	5,942	52,961	.....
1923	9,319	2,090	57,978	1,911
1924	15,227	2,143	65,358	3,256

The enrollment in day schools is primarily in high school departments of agriculture. From the data given it is apparent that there has been a tendency in the past few years to expand the types of work offered so as to reach other groups of pupils.

Agriculture in Collegiate Institutions

In many of the colleges of agriculture there has been a decline in recent years in the enrollment in agriculture. In the land grant colleges, statistics show the following enrollments in agriculture for the white institutions:

1902-3	2,471	1913-14	14,844
1903-4	2,331	1914-15	17,169
1904-5	2,473	1915-16	16,874
1905-6	2,963	1916-17	16,409
1906-7	3,930	1917-18	13,445
1907-8	4,566	1918-19	10,345
1908-9	5,873	1919-20	15,370
1909-10	7,299	1920-21	15,434
1910-11	8,859	1921-22	15,477
1911-12	10,701	1922-23	14,615
1912-13	12,462	1923-24	13,685

From Bulletin No. 32, 1925, Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C. Advance Sheets from the Biennial Survey of Education in the United States (1922-1924). By George A. Works.

Rural Education, by Orville G. Brim. Macmillan.
Country Community Education, Fifth Report of the American Country Life Association. University of Chicago Press.

CHAPTER XXIV

RURAL SOCIAL LIFE

Translating the ideals of Jesus into agriculture means: That special efforts shall be made to ensure the farmer adequate social institutions, including the church, the school, the library, means of recreation, good local government, and particularly the best possible farm home.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

In our experience do farmers have access to libraries in the same way as city and town people? What has been done to meet this need?

In our experience what are the chief differences between churches in small towns and the open country and churches in the city?

In our experience do country churches "feed" the city churches? Do city churches owe something to country churches? Have they a peculiar responsibility to help improve conditions in country churches? How can they help?

What is our experience in regard to recreational facilities? What is being done to improve conditions?

Can rural communities now secure good and appropriate movies if they want them? How can the leaders of a community cooperate with the local exhibitor of movies?

Is it correct to say that urban people may contribute voluntarily and through taxation toward the improvement of rural institutions not for charity nor for selfish purposes but simply as a matter of justice because much of the cities' population comes from the country?

Should we be interested in promoting mutual helpfulness between city and country churches? What may we do?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

Rural Health Conditions

Not more than 12 per cent of the rural population of the United States, it is said, enjoys anything like modern health supervision. Forty Kentucky counties in 1924 were reported to be without adequate medical service. One of these counties had not a single doctor. In a Montana county of 5.000 square miles, there were only three doctors and no hospitals. In Minnesota 127 small villages were reported to be without doctors. Similar conditions existed in the Dakotas. This situation is believed to be largely due to the fact that modern medical education is developing physicians who will not consent to dispense with the advantages of up-to-date clinics and laboratories.—*Farmers' Bulletin No. 1485,* United States Department of Agriculture, entitled *Rural Hospitals,* by Wayne C. Nason of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life.

Sermon on Crippled Children

The weekly sermon by Dr. J. W. Holland in the *Progressive Farmer* (Raleigh) for October 10, 1925, gave data on the extent of crippled children and discussed the rapid spread of the movement to come to the relief of these sufferers. There are said to be approximately 400,000 crippled children in the United States. A large proportion of these could have been entirely cured if they had had early medical attention. The "Shriners Hospitals for Crippled Children" alone now have capacities of 600 beds.

The Country Church

The most adequate and extensive studies of the church situation in "town and country" (including towns having up to 5,000 people) are those of the Institute of Social and Religious Research. Considering Protestantism only, these studies indicate that there are 101,000 very unevenly distributed churches in town and country. One-seventh of the rural communities are without churches. On the other hand there is considerable over-churching in many sections, particularly the east, south, and middle west. One out of every five rural churches receives

home mission aid, and more than half of these subsidized churches are in active competition with other subsidized churches. Seven out of every ten churches have only part of a pastor's time. The salaries of many country ministers are so low that one-third of their number eke out a bare livelihood by working at some other occupation as well as the ministry. The average annual salary is equivalent to $1,150 cash and free use of a house. Two-fifths of our rural churches are standing still or losing members, while one-half make an annual gain in membership running as high as 10 per cent. The total membership of the churches is 16 per cent of the total population. The typical country church has a program which includes worship, conducting a Sunday school, and such pastoral care as a part-time minister can give. A large proportion of ministers are untrained and the college and seminary trained men either avoid the country or tend to drift to towns and cities.—*Information Service,* Federal Council of Churches.

County Libraries

The residents of approximately 200 of the 3,065 counties in the United States enjoy county library service. Forty-two of these 200 counties are in California. Since 1911 the development of county libraries has distinguished that state and stimulated a great interest in the provision of libraries in rural communities throughout the country. Prior to 1911 there were a few isolated instances in which counties had established libraries, but they created no wide-spread interest.

Development of Social Work

Rural social work is a new but rapidly developing field. There are today 1,089 rural public health nurses at work under the auspices of the Red Cross. Official health departments of counties are increasing in number. The United States Public Health Service cooperates in demonstration projects in rural health work in 60 counties or districts comparable to counties, in 17 states. The Rockefeller Foundation and the International Health Board have conducted significant demonstrations, particularly in the south. Child welfare specialists are employed in a small number of counties. North Carolina in 1919 made it mandatory for every county to maintain a department of

public welfare. Missouri has passed a law permitting counties to employ welfare secretaries. In Pennsylvania and Iowa county committees on social service are being formed. Private agencies like the Pennsylvania Children's Aid and the State Charities Aid of New York work on a county basis. Various religious agencies also carry on social work. In general it may perhaps be said that organized rural social work is largely an extension or adaptation of urban technique. The form of coordination of rural social work and all phases of its future development are being debated and studied.—*Information Service,* Federal Council of Churches.

Handbook of Rural Social Resources, edited by Henry Israel and Benson Y. Landis. University of Chicago Press.
Our Templed Hills, by Ralph A. Felton. Missionary Education Movement. 1926. Study Course.

CHAPTER XXV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RURAL COMMUNITIES

Translating the ideals of Jesus into agriculture means: That there shall be a widespread development of organized rural communities, thoroughly democratic, completely cooperative, and possessed with the spirit of the common welfare.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

In our experience are rural communities tending to become more or less democratic and cooperative? In what ways?

What helps and what hinders the development of loyalty to a community?

How may our social institutions in the country contribute more to the development of communities?

What has been the part of religious denominations in the development of rural communities?

What is our experience with the community church movement?

How may organized religion best contribute to the development of communities?

If there are four small, weak Protestant churches in a community of 1,000 people, what methods might be used to further the development of a more cooperative and democratic community?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

The Good Life on the Farm

The community . . . is a group of people based upon and growing out of their fundamental desires to associate with one another and to get their wants satisfied. Nearly everyone recognizes that people can get things more economically and get more and better things if they act together in some sort

of group or organized fashion. For example, it is plainly impossible for each farm family to hire a tutor for its children. But when a number of families act together they are able to employ at reasonable expense a competent teacher. Moreover, they are able to build schools and provide them with the necessary equipment.

So if wants are to be satisfied, if standards are to be progressive, and if rural civilization is to be permanent, then group action will be necessary. This can no longer take place on the old neighborhood economy basis. It must be extended to a larger community basis which is consistent with the demands of changed needs and wants. It will likewise probably mean some specialization on the part of the country community, for certain needs can now be more successfully met by the town or the city than was possible in the pioneering days. This only means that some farmers and their families will need to give more consideration to local community relations. They may need to redefine their community boundaries and their group loyalties.

A rural community, for example, which is organized for recreation is admitted to be a happier community, freer from vice, crime, and disease than one which has no organization. It is pronounced a better place in which to live and work. This is true for every phase of activity in the rural community. Few of the better things of life come about by accident or even by individual effort alone.

To prosper a rural community must be able to produce what consumers want and are willing to pay for. It must be able to do this at the least possible cost consistent with producing a commodity of such quality and standard as to permit of marketing and yielding a profit. This means organization.

To get a fair share of the price the consumer is willing to pay for this standardized, quality product an efficient and orderly marketing system is required. This means organization.

To convert profits earned by efficient production and orderly marketing into the satisfactions for individual and community wants—"to open the door to a good kind of life on the farm" —is likewise a task of the first magnitude.—*Rural Community Organization Handbook,* by J. H. Kolb and A. F. Wileden. The University of Wisconsin. 1926. Pamphlet.

"What's on the Farm Woman's Mind?"

A conference of sixteen farm women chosen because of their vision, their contacts with other women and their ability to express "what's on the farm woman's mind" was recently called in Chicago by the *Farmer's Wife* and the American Country Life Association. It was a conference with "no speeches" of any kind. Only a few representatives of national agencies and the federal government were called in as consultants.

At the opening session it was agreed that the 8,000,000 farm women of the United States suffer from an "inferiority complex," but that it is disappearing. One of the first sessions was given to listing the felt needs of farm women. From this catalog, four topics were chosen as of most importance: education, economics, "appreciations," and community development. When education was considered the interest centered upon health education and citizenship. It was felt that information in regard to simple rules of health had not yet found its way to the farm woman; that health agencies had not yet popularized their data; and that organizations had frequently more interest in their own programs than in doing the necessary pioneering work of reaching the farm woman. A resolution was passed urging that popularization of information be the keynote of the work of the health agencies and that they venture out from the city in rendering their services.

The discussion of "appreciations" revealed that these farm women had a conscious need of art—for example, great paintings of farm and home life; of an appreciation of the farm surroundings; of self-esteem rather than apology for their vocation. While all the sessions were characterized by a deep spiritual note, and the closing session was described as one consisting mainly of prayers and poems, the church as an institution received mainly criticisms. These women resented the ordinary custom in country churches of relegating women to the task of preparing ladies' aid suppers—they passed resolutions of sympathy and urged proposals of relief for "the ladies' aid and similar organizations." One woman remarked that the average country church does not promote the mental health of women. There was expressed a desire for "better preachers."

When economic matters were discussed, the conference adopted a series of findings recommending that farm women take a greater interest in legislative enactments concerning agriculture, that an effort be made to interest city women in agricultural problems and that farm women should help sustain the morale of cooperative marketing institutions. The farm woman's importance as a factor in producing income was recognized and a great deal of time was spent in the formulation of standards of consumption, and standards of life, which included "health, neatness, beauty, efficiency, simplicity of spirit, happiness, companionship, physical comfort, hospitality and genuineness."

Rural Social Problems, by C. J. Galpin. The Century Company.
The Community, by E. C. Lindeman. Association Press.
The Farmer and His Community. Harcourt, Brace and Co.
Organizing the Community, by Bessie A. McClenahan. The Century Company.

CHAPTER XXVI

CAN CITY AND COUNTRY COOPERATE?

Translating the ideals of Jesus into agriculture means: That there shall be fullest measure of friendly reciprocal cooperation between the rural and city workers.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

In our experience what instances have there been of city and rural workers cooperating on economic measures? Is the tendency toward more or less contacts between city and rural workers?

What economic interests have these groups in common?

What economic interests have these groups that are in conflict?

In our experience how frequently do leaders of organized labor and organized farmers meet and confer? Do these two groups tend to understand or misunderstand each other?

How may the fullest measure of friendly reciprocal cooperation in economic measures between these two groups be promoted?

In our experience what instances have there been of cooperation between these groups in political measures?

What political interests have they in common? At what points do their political interests conflict?

How may the fullest measure of friendly reciprocal cooperation between these two groups in politics be promoted?

How may cooperation between these two groups in other tasks be promoted?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

Cooperation versus Conflict

In the states of North Dakota and Minnesota, large numbers of farmers and industrial workers have found that they have

mutual interests which appear to them more important than those which are conflicting. One of the ablest strategists in the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, after having been through six years of negotiations between the two groups, stated: "We do not expect farmers and laborers to cooperate in all instances. We recognize that they will agree only on some political and economic questions and will disagree on others. We believe that the issues on which they agree are more important, however, and that it is to the advantage of both groups to cooperate rather than to compete in politics."

Observers and participants point out the common interests of these two groups: They feel that they have a common enemy, "big business"; they feel that they have mutual interests as debtors, the credit of both being controlled by the business community; the farmers' real income as well as that of the industrial workers represents labor; they have common complaint against the high costs, profits and inefficiencies of the distributing agencies. "Farmers and industrial workers *must* cooperate," said an officer of a farmers' organization, "because neither we nor labor can get anywhere alone." Intense feeling of opposition on the part of both groups to the business community has thus overcome the felt antagonism between the two groups.

On the other hand, the maintenance of this cooperation is constantly menaced: In this section, when farmers are employers of labor, their interests are in conflict with certain groups of organized workers, particularly the Industrial Workers of the World; in a new movement composed of two such groups there are many problems of adjustment and there has been friction between leaders which can only be described, says one observer, as "vicious personal conflicts"; the extremely low incomes of farmers during the past few years of depression have aroused some antagonism on their part toward labor in the cities because it has apparently been better off; in Minnesota the formation of a new party which has won victories has prompted numerous opportunists among politicians to become candidates under the new banner in the hope of attaining office and these willing volunteers are sometimes a source of much discord; finally, it is recognized by some of the strategists in the movement in Minnesota that "the morrow of the

victory is more dangerous than the eve," and that the real problems of the farmer-labor coalition may just begin when it has a governor and control of the legislature.—*Information Service,* Federal Council of Churches.

A Rural-Urban Conflict?

In academic and some other quarters, the significance of a rural-urban conflict is being pondered. There are students of agricultural economics who believe we are just on the verge of an intensification of that conflict. It is thought that food prices in the cities will tend to be considerably higher and may become extremely high in ten or fifteen years; and that then the rural groups will be as complacent in their advantageous position as the urban consuming public has been during the agricultural depression of the past few years. A prominent United States senator is reported to have stated that the rural-urban conflict is one of the great issues which the country must face in the next two decades.—*Information Service,* Federal Council of Churches.

Rural-Urban Cooperation

The testimony of Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield, President of Michigan State Agricultural College, on evidences of increasing rural-urban cooperation, appearing in *Rural American* for June, 1926, is as follows:

"Never before have I felt so strongly that the probable trend out in this area, at least, is going to be toward a knitting together of the smaller towns with the farming people surrounding. Indeed, in one case, there is a city in Michigan of 50,000 people that has maintained for half a dozen years a very large community club with at least half of the members farmers and furnishing at least half of the attendance, as a rule. I suspect, however, that the characteristic development will show itself in villages of five hundred up to smaller cities of perhaps five thousand. I have received great encouragement and stimulus from this discovery."

Farmers and Workers in American Politics, by Stuart L. Rice. Longmans, Green & Co.

PART IV

RACE RELATIONS

CHAPTER XXVII

A FAIR DEAL FOR EVERY RACE

Translating the ideals of Jesus into race relations means: The practice of the American principle of the same protection and rights for all races who share our common life.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

Which races in our locality or nation do not receive equal protection and rights? Why?

In our experiences when and how have protection and rights been denied in the courts? In the schools? On railroad trains? In housing? At the polls? In recreation? In social intercourse? In labor unions? In industrial plants? In churches?

Does the declaration in favor of equal rights for all races include the right of access to all public places including restaurants and hotels, the right of intermarriage and social equality?

Should we, as Christians, oppose or favor full social equality (including the right of intermarriage)?

How are legal rights of minority races denied by social customs? What are our experiences?

What can we do to change laws and social customs so as to secure equal protection and rights for all the races who share our life?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

A Vocational Color Line

The Hospital Library and Service Bureau of the American Conference on Hospital Service, with office in Chicago, has recently published an informal study of the educational facilities for colored nurses and their use in hospital, visiting and public health nursing.

Of 1,688 listed accredited schools of nursing, only 54 reported that they admit colored students; 1,588 reported they do not. Of 55 listed non-accredited schools, 21 reported that they admit colored students and 4 that they do not.

Sixty-six hospitals reported that they do and 1,576 that they do not use colored graduate nurses regularly and 60 that they do and 1,582 that they do not employ them as "specials."

Of the state and local departments of health of which inquiry was made, 58 per cent replied. In 59 cases they said that they employ colored nurses and in 489 cases that they do not. Of those replying 132 stated there are available a sufficient number of colored public health nurses and 24 reported that there are not.

Segregation of Negroes in the North

During the recent months the tension in northern cities over the residential segregation of Negroes has been increasing. It is, in some centers, assuming the proportions of a major social and moral problem. The issues involved in this question may be analyzed as follows:

1. The right of a citizen irrespective of creed or color to buy or use property in any locality where he may choose or be able to secure it.

2. The expediency of taking the risk of exercising that right in a particular community where there is strong opposition or hostility on the part of its residents.

3. The question whether a prospective resident should give consideration to the feelings of those who have fears of him and his race through ignorance, misunderstanding or prejudice.

4. The problem of providing economical, sanitary houses, with provision for privacy and culture, for colored people who are suffering as do other groups from low purchasing power.—*Information Service,* Federal Council of Churches.

Race Relations in California

The Annals of the American Academy for November, 1925, printed an article on California's attitude toward the Oriental, by Eliot Grinnell Mears, executive secretary of the Survey of Race Relations. Mr. Mears considers that the importance of California's attitude toward Orientals is due not only to

her larger Oriental population but to the fact that news from California is much better disseminated throughout the country than that from other Pacific Coast states. He points out that the population of California is mainly native American, and that, in some places where other nationalities are numerous, Japanese are preferred to the foreign-born whites.

Organized labor, Mr. Mears reminds us, has always been vigorously opposed to Oriental immigration. . . . Economic pressure is the main cause for friction, Mr. Mears thinks. "The essence of the economic factor is that nothing shall be done domestically or internationally to lower the American standard of living." Among the social considerations are school attendance, Oriental group organizations, racial intermarriage, segregated dwellings, lack of personal contact between Americans and Orientals, the low social status of the majority of Japanese and Chinese in this country. The racial factor, Mr. Mears says, is "so seldom isolated that Californian opinion on this point is most difficult to ascertain."

All Colors. The Conference on the Christian Way of Life. Pamphlet, Study Outline.

A Negro Girl and the Y.W.C.A., The Survey, July 15, 1926.

Mob Murder in America. Federal Council of Churches, 1926. Pamphlet.

Negro Migration, by George E. Haynes. Federal Council of Churches. Reprinted from the 1924 Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work. Pamphlet.

The Trend of the Races, by George E. Haynes. Missionary Education Movement, 1922.

Selected Articles on the Negro Problem, by Julia E. Johnsen. H. W. Wilson Co.

The Law vs. The Mob, by Monroe H. Work. Federal Council of Churches, 1925. Pamphlet.

Segregation by Contract. Information Service of the Federal Council of Churches, June 19, 1926.

The Racial Situation in America, by Will W. Alexander. Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Pamphlet.

CHAPTER XXVIII

DISCRIMINATION vs. BROTHERHOOD

Translating the ideals of Jesus into race relations means: The elimination of racial discrimination, and substitution of full brotherly treatment for all races in America.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

What are the causes of racial discrimination?

How do individuals remove the causes of racial discrimination? Should we determine our relations with each individual solely on the basis of his merits, not on the basis of his color or race?

What *scientific* evidence favors discrimination against any race in the immigration policy of the United States?

What factors chiefly influence our national immigration policy?

Granting the wisdom of restriction of immigration, does either social science or Christian teaching sanction discrimination against any race?

What would be involved in giving the American Indian "full brotherly treatment"?

What would be involved in giving the Negro "full brotherly treatment"?

What would be involved in giving the Jews "full brotherly treatment"?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

Testimony of a Negro Woman

The curious thing about white people is that they expect us to judge them by their statute books and not by their actions. But we colored people have learned better, so much so that when we prepare for a journey, when we enter on a new undertaking, when we decide on where to go to school,

if we want to shop, to move, to go to the theatre, to eat (outside of our own houses), we think quite consciously, "If we can pull it through without some white person interfering." . . .

I am a colored woman, neither white nor black, neither pretty nor ugly, neither specially graceful nor at all deformed. I am fairly well educated, of fair manners and deportment. In brief, the average American done over in brown. In the morning I go to work by means of the subway, which is crowded. Presently somebody gets up. The man standing in front of the vacant place looks around meaning to point it out to a woman. I am the nearest one. "But oh," says his glance, "you're colored. I'm not expected to give it to you." And down he plumps. According to my reflexes that morning I think to myself "hypocrite" or "pig." And make a conscious effort to shake off the unpleasantness of it, for I don't want my day spoiled.

At noon I go for lunch. But I always go to the same place because I am not sure of my reception in other places. If I go to another place I must fight it through. But usually I am hungry, I want food, not a law-suit. And, too, how long am I to wait before I am sure of the slight? Shall I march up to the proprietor and say, "Do you serve colored people?" or shall I sit and drum on the table for fifteen or twenty minutes, feel my anger rising, prepare to explode only to have the attendant come at that moment and nonchalantly arrange the table? I eat but I go out still not knowing whether the delay was intentional or not. . . .

I think the thing that irks us most is the teasing uncertainty of it all. Did the man at the box office give us the seat behind the post on purpose? Is the shop girl impudent or merely nervous? Had the position really been filled before we applied for it?—Copyright *The World Tomorrow*. Reprinted by permission.

Causes of Racial Conflicts

Bruno Lasker of the Inquiry (the National Conference on the Christian Way of Life) in *The Survey* for Oct. 15, 1925, remarks that while rigid demarcations between classes do not exist in America, race discriminations are often present though unnoticed until some unusual circumstance calls attention to

them. In spite of the fact that people only become aware of race problems after some unfortunate outbreak, Mr. Lasker believes that the real cause lies in the everyday experiences with different languages, habits, etc. He calls attention to the fact that "racial or cultural attitudes cut across economic interests. In short, the prevailing temper of the community rather than the reasoned interest of either capital or labor often governs the behavior of both toward the potential wage-earner of dark skin or foreign speech."

Mr. Lasker concludes: "But to get at the root of the prevailing race attitudes among industrial workers implies a knowledge of them as citizens and neighbors, as parents and churchmen, as members of their own national group and as individuals with different tastes and ideas."

"Nordic Nonsense"

"This Nordic nonsense" is the term applied in a discussion of the theory of Nordic superiority by Professor Franz Boas of Columbia University in the *Forum* for October, 1925. Professor Boas thinks that the growth of racial consciousness is due partly to the "more intimate interracial contact" accompanying the extension of commerce, partly to an aesthetic element "based on the contrast of bodily traits," and still more to "the development of a biological point of view" and modern theories of genetics. Professor Boas argues that so-called Nordic traits may be found in all parts of Europe and, therefore, cannot be regarded as purely Nordic. Physiological functions are not a sufficient evidence, for every constitutional type is found in all European races. "Intelligence tests have shown," says Professor Boas, "that recent immigrants do not do so well in such tests as those who have been here longer." Professor Boas concludes that it is a question of adjustment to a new environment rather than of different hereditary endowment.

America — Eden or Battlefield?

Is race antagonism an ineradicable trait of human nature? Is man, as Dean Inge says, a beast of prey? Have racial barriers always kept humanity apart in separate groups? Are the great majority of living human beings of pure racial stock? Are you? How do you know?

DISCRIMINATION VS. BROTHERHOOD

Is each racial group struggling for survival against every other? Are white Americans in league with white Europeans to destroy or subject the colored races? Are Americans of different racial and national origins engaged in constant deadly strife with each other?

Are a majority of white Americans determined, in association with the white people of England, Russia, Germany, Italy, Canada, New Zealand and Luxembourg, to "dominate the world"? Are the Japanese, Singhalese, Tibetans, Samoyedes, and American Indians making common cause to "dominate the world"? Is there a race war on at the present time? Is it bound to come?

Is America a battlefield of warring, racing factions?—*The Inquiry.* New York. March, 1925.

And Who Is My Neighbor?—An outline for the study of race relations in America. Associated Press, 1924. (For the National Conference on the Christian Way of Life, otherwise known as the "Inquiry.")

Studying Prejudice. Information Service, Federal Council of Churches, May 9, 1925.

Christianity and the Race Problem, by J. H. Oldham. Doran, 1924. Pamphlet.

The Clash of Color, by Basil Mathews. Missionary Education Movement, 1924. Cloth and paper.

Of One Blood, by Robert E. Speer. Council of Women for Home Missions and Missionary Education Movement, 1924. Cloth and paper.

Toward Racial Cooperation. What Was Said and Done at the First National Interracial Conference. Federal Council of Churches, 1926. Cloth and paper.

Danger Zones of the Social Order, by Sherwood Eddy and Kirby Page. Doran, 1926. Pamphlet.

America: Its Problems and Perils, by Sherwood Eddy. Doran, 1922. Pamphlet.

Progress in Race Relations 1924-25. Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Pamphlet.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE COLOR LINE WITHIN THE CHURCH

Translating the ideals of Jesus into race relations means: The fullest cooperation between the churches of various races, even though of different denominations.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

In our experiences, what instances have we observed of cooperation between churches of different races?

What have been the most common relationships between churches of different races?

What specific instances have we observed of fellowship or cooperation between Jewish and Christian congregations?

How can mutual understanding best be promoted between Jews and Christians?

What methods can be used to promote greater cooperation between churches of different races?

What are the difficulties in building such cooperative ties?

Is experience in obtaining cooperation between churches of different denominations of the same race of any assistance here? How?

In our experience, what principles assist us in intergroup education?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

"The Literature of Understanding"

A small group of Jewish and Christian leaders has been developing what has been called a "literature of understanding" which shall be read by Jews and Christians, in the endeavor to promote goodwill and cooperation. Two of the creators of this literature are Dr. Alfred Williams Anthony, Chairman of the Committee on Goodwill between Jews and Christians of the Federal Council of Churches, and Rabbi Clifton Harby Levy of New York, of the Temple of Jewish Faith, New York City, both of whom contributed articles to *The Jewish Tribune* (New York) for March 26, 1926. Dr. Anthony writes upon the topic "How the Jew Can Help the

Christian," and Rabbi Levy on "How the Christian Can Help the Jew."

Dr. Anthony says to the Jews: "Give us religion; give us your best. . . ." Further, Jews who have pioneered in making contributions which are of incalculable benefit to Christians —in art, music, literature, science, statesmanship, finance, and real religion—should not cease to proclaim those contributions. The Jews can also help the Christians by realizing that they have tasks in overcoming anti-Semitism. "There is an anti-Christianism as well as an anti-Semitism." Jewish clannishness, which has arisen partly out of bitter experiences with Christians, is one of the reasons for opposition to the Jews, and Jews should grapple with this tendency of theirs when they consider exclusion from clubs and social organizations.

Rabbi Levy points to various methods whereby the Christian can help the Jew. He may "put aside all prejudices." He may seek to know "what manner of men these Jews are"—Jews of the twentieth century are unlike those of the first. The Christian can help the Jew by endeavoring to understand the development of Jewish religious ideals. It is the duty and privilege of Christians to conduct business dealings with Jews in the same manner as with non-Jews, and to oppose anti-Jewish jests in the papers and on the stage. The Christian can make more effort to understand the Jew's view of Jesus, and to accept historical evidences in regard to the circumstances surrounding the death of Jesus. He can endeavor to show the Jews that persecution has not been in accord with the spirit of Christianity, but has been due to the perversity and savagery of men. Finally, Rabbi Levy says: "I would help give the Jew confidence in progressive Christians by showing him that I had no desire to make him accept my faith."

Race Relations Sunday

As a means of promoting contacts of white and colored groups under the best and most amicable circumstances, this day continues to grow in popularity with increasing numbers of churches and communities all over the country. The year 1923, when the day was initiated, it was observed widely in the East and Middle West; in 1924 its observance increased as far west as Los Angeles, Cal. This year it was observed

also in the South as in Galveston, Texas, where white and colored worshipers attended a service in Trinity Episcopal Church, addressed by both white and colored speakers and with music from the choir of a colored Baptist church.

Of special significance for this year and for the observance in 1926 is the broadening of the exercises to include relations of Jews and Christians, of whites and Indians, whites and Mexicans in the United States, and of Orientals as well as of Negro and white Americans.—The 1925 Report of the Commission on the Church and Race Relations, Federal Council of Churches.

Interracial Committees Organized in the North

The interracial committees, made up as usual of representatives of the churches, social agencies, civic organizations, public schools and similar organized forces of the community have continued to increase in numbers this year.

With the committees organized in the North and West in 1924, the following cities, besides the many interracial committees in the south, now have interracial committees or commissions:

Brooklyn, N. Y.
Buffalo, N. Y.
Chicago, Ill.
Cincinnati, O.
Champaign, Ill.
Cleveland, O.
Danville, Ill.
Dayton, O.
Decatur, Ill.
Denver, Col.
Des Moines, Ia.
Evanston, Ill.
Gary, Ind.
Indianapolis, Ind.
Hartford, Conn.
Kansas City, Mo.
Minneapolis, Minn.
Milwaukee, Wis.
Peoria, Ill.
Philadelphia, Pa.
Quincy, Ill.
St. Louis, Mo.
Toledo, O.
Trenton, N. J.
Wichita, Kan.
Wilmington, Del.
Youngstown, O.

—The 1925 report of the Commission on the Church and Race Relations, Federal Council of the Churches.

Race Relations Sunday, 1926. Suggestions and Material. Commission on the Church and Race Relations, Federal Council of Churches, 1926. Pamphlet.

The Crusade of the Churches for Applied Brotherhood in Race Relations. Commission on the Church and Race Relations, Federal Council of Churches, 1925. Pamphlet.

CHAPTER XXX

MEETING THE IMMIGRANT'S NEED

Translating the ideals of Jesus into race relations means: Educational and social equipment for the special needs of immigrants, with government information bureaus.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

What are the special needs of immigrants?

How are these special needs at present being met in our community?

Should immigrants be subjected to more surveillance than other groups within the community?

In what ways are immigrants in our community directly assisted toward citizenship?

In our experience, have there been instances of immigrants being hindered in their steps toward citizenship?

Do we agree as to the need of government information bureaus? What should be their functions and limitations?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

European Immigrants

Our present foreign-born population is about 17,000,000 and there are some 20,000,000 more of immediate foreign extraction.

Approximately one-fourth of all the children in the United States live in the homes of the foreign-born, as the birth rate is everywhere higher among the foreign-born than among the native stock.

The percentage of foreign-born farmers is greater than that of the native-born in a number of our states.

The foreign-language press in America includes some 15,000 publications with a circulation of 8,000,000 copies and with a reading public of possibly 16,000,000.

The full participation in the whole life of America on the

part of all the people in America demands the removal of every barrier erected by a sensational race consciousness and the creation of a new American national consciousness.

To be great a nation does not need to be of one blood, but it must be of one mind. Unity of spirit is of more importance than unity of race.—*World Survey.* Vol. No. 1. Interchurch World Movement. American volume. 1920.

Adjusting Immigrant and Industry, by William M. Leiserson. Harper and Brothers.

The book is a discussion of the immigrant-in-industry problem by an author well fitted for the task by reason of his wide experience in the clothing trade, an industry confronted perhaps more than any other with the necessity for adjustment between the foreign-born worker and American industry.

Mr. Leiserson points out that "the first task of the immigrant is to root himself in the economic life of the country, that he may derive life and nourishment in the new land." This he must do without adequate aid or guidance and subject to all manner of exploitation. And this exploitation has far reaching effects not only upon the individual immigrant but upon the whole problem of Americanization, for these experiences are vitally affecting immigrant mind and character. "Unfavorable experiences, unemployment, exploitation by labor agents, abuse by foremen and employers, poverty and low standards will make him [the immigrant] antagonistic to things American and cause him to idealize his old home. For he sees in the injustices which he often suffers at the hands of employers, trade unions, government officials, labor agents, and boarding house keepers, not the criminality of irresponsible individuals, but the acts of the American nation. He thinks these are the ways of American life which he must learn. It is the 'American Game,' a phrase commonly used by immigrants."

In conclusion Mr. Leiserson suggests a comprehensive national policy for adequately adjusting immigrant and industry, one with two distinct branches—(1) admission, *i.e.,* the foreign immigration policy, (2) Americanization, *i.e.,* the domestic policy for immigrants. The latter would be effected through a United States immigration commission including a division of industrial relations, charged, among other things, with the duty to study and help toward the solution of problems inhering in training of immigrant labor, labor management of immigrant employes, and trade-union policies with respect to immigrants.

Americans by Choice, by John Palmer Gavit. Harper and Brothers. 1922.
New Homes for Old, by Sophia P. Breckinridge. Harper and Brothers. 1921.
Culture and Democracy in the United States, by Horace M. Kallen. Boni and Liveright. 1924.
The Russian Immigrant, by Jerome Davis. Macmillan. 1922.
Civics for Coming Americans, by Peter Roberts. Association Press. 1922.
Citizenship Instruction, by H. I. Schermerhorn. United States Department of Labor. 1923.
The Immigrant's Day in Court, by K. H. Claghorn. Harper and Brothers. 1923.

PART V

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

CHAPTER XXXI

CAN BARRIERS BETWEEN NATIONS BE REMOVED?

Translating the ideals of Jesus into international relations means: The removal of every unjust barrier of trade, color, creed, and race, and the practice of equal justice for all nations.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

What do we regard as some unjust barriers of trade, color, creed, race?

Is a high tariff upon imported goods an unjust barrier of trade? How does it promote the practice of equal justice for all nations?

Is our present immigration law an unjust barrier? Against what races or creeds? Why?

How must we work to change international policies of our government?

What policies should be changed now so as to remove unjust barriers and to make actual the practice of equal justice for all nations?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

The Exclusion of Asiatics

The Asiatic exclusion section of the Immigration Law of 1924 has created an international situation that causes us grave concern. The manner of its enactment, the abrupt abrogation of the "Gentlemen's Agreement" without the conference requested by Japan, the insistence on a discriminatory law which Asiatics resent as humiliating, unjust and unchristian, and the affront to Japan's prestige as one of the great and equal nations of the world, have combined to wound and grieve a friendly nation.

Many expressions of resentment and of disappointment in the idealism, brotherhood, and good will of America have come from India and China as well as from Japan. While Asiatics know and say that nothing they can do can change the situation or the law, they repeatedly declare their trust in the sense of justice which many of them still believe inheres in the American people and their confidence that the American people will ultimately set this matter right.

In view of the foregoing . . . we are impelled to record our convictions:

1. That the dictates of humanity and the welfare of the world demand the recognition by all governments of the brotherhood of man and the inherent right of all nations and races to treatment free from humiliation.

2. That the United States cannot afford to override the principle of essential human equality embedded in the Declaration of Independence.

3. That no nation can afford needlessly to flout and wound the feelings of other nations and peoples.

4. That the maintenance of justice, humanity, courtesy and good will between the peoples of the Far West and the Far East is essential to the permanent peace of the Pacific and of the world.

5. That we recognize the need of restriction of immigration in order to conserve American standards of labor and living.

6. That Asiatics in the United States should be accorded their rights as human beings and also the rights to which they are entitled by the letter and the spirit of the treaties under which they came to the United States.

7. That, in the words of former Ambassador Woods this action of Congress referred to above was an international catastrophe.

8. That we see at present no better solution of the problem than the application to Japan, China, and India of the quota law as it comes into force in 1927 which would result in the annual admission of 350 immigrants from those three sections of the Orient.—Resolution of the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches. December 11, 1925.

Bigness of Organization and the Freedom of the Individual

There is a sense in which the vastest problem by which we are faced is the very scale of the life we are attempting to live. Its bigness tends to obscure the real merits of real freedom. And, indeed, there is industrially abroad a certain suspicion of liberty against which safeguards must be erected. The individual suffers absorption by the immensity of the forces with which he is in contact. . . . There are few of that energy of the soul which Aristotle thought the secret of happiness. There is little work that offers the opportunity of conscious and systematic thought. Responsibility tends to coagulate at a few centers of social life; so that the work of most is the simple commission of orders it is rarely their business to reflect upon. We are clearly tending to be overawed by our institutions; and we perceive . . . a genuine danger lest we lose hold of that chiefest source of happiness. Clerks and teachers and tenders of machines, for each of them there is prescribed a routine that fills the most eager hours of life, dare not be asked for the effort upon which new thought is founded. An expert in the science of factory management has even assumed that for the purpose of productivity a man "who more nearly resembles in his mental makeup the ox than any other type" is desirable. Happiness in work, which can alone be fruitful of advance in thought is, as Mr. Wallas has noted, a phrase for most practically without meaning. The problem today, as the problem at the time of the French Revolution, is the restoration of man to his place at the center of social life. That is, indeed, the real significance of freedom. It alone enables the individuality of men to become manifest.—*Authority in the Modern State,* by Harold Laski. Yale University Press.

Races, Nations and Classes, by Herbert Adolphus Miller. Lippincott. 1924.

Professor Miller has undertaken to interpret the perplexing problems of race relationship, class prejudice and international ill-will, upon the basis of psychology, making use particularly of psychoanalytic methods. He finds that interracial and interclass prejudice and conflict are not so much the expression of individual attitudes as of group feeling and thinking. He distinguishes between what may be called vertical group rela-

tionships and horizontal group relationships. As examples of the former we have groups bound together as members of the same race, same religion or the same nation. As examples of horizontal grouping we have capital and labor, bourgeois and proletariat, and other familiar class distinctions.

Our difficulties are largely due to the competition between groups leading to attempts at domination of one group by another. This gives rise to an "oppression psychosis"—"persistent and exaggerated mental states which are characteristically produced under conditions where one group dominates another." From this arises a long line of social diseases—inferiority complexes, defense mechanisms and all the rest.

International Economic Policies, by William Smith Culbertson. Appleton. 1925.

Here is a valuable discussion of international economic problems by the former vice-chairman of United States Tariff Commission. Mr. Culbertson declares that "western material civilization has outrun social and governmental controls" and stresses the need for "an adequate system of international law and perfected machinery for its administration and interpretation." Commercial treaties, most-favored-nation treatment and the various aspects of tariff bargaining are thoroughly treated. "No really satisfactory international relations, no assured peace, can be established until all countries feel secure in the guaranty of equality of treatment in all the important markets of the world," says Mr. Culbertson.

The Conquest of the Philippines by the United States, 1898-1925, by Moorfield Storey and Marcial P. Lichauco. Putnam's. 1926.

Using as the background for their story a vivid picture of the struggle over Cuba, the stabilization of its government, and the occasion for intervention given to the United States in Spain's treatment of the Cubans, the authors proceed with a history of the conquest of the Philippines by the United States. It is a story which will challenge or bewilder anyone who has taken American idealism as a matter of course.

The Far East. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, November, 1925. Twenty-five articles on various aspects.

Asiatic Exclusion. Commission on International Justice and Good Will. Federal Council of Churches. 1925. Pamphlet.

The Reestablishment of Right Relations with Japan, by Sidney L. Gulick. Commission on International Justice and Good Will. Federal Council of Churches. 1925. Pamphlet.

CHAPTER XXXII

NATIONAL WEALTH AND WORLD RESPONSIBILITY

Translating the ideals of Jesus into international relations means: The administration of the property and privileges within each country so that they will be of the greatest benefit not only to that nation but to all the world.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

What instances have we of administration of property and privileges which has benefited this country but has not benefited the world?

How does the setting up of a high standard of living in this country benefit the poor people of the Philippines?

What evidence have we of exploitation of smaller nations by people of large western nations?

What evidence have we that in the administration of colonies our government has or has not benefited the whole world?

How can we determine or know when we make an investment of money to be used or loaned abroad, whether it is to be of the greatest benfit, not only to us but also to the world?

How has the rapidly increasing wealth of the people of the United States been used to bring the greatest benefit to the world as well as to us?

What practices of ours and of our government need to be changed in order to achieve the ideal of the greatest benefit of all?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

Privilege in the Pacific Area

What is the problem of the Pacific? It was pointedly stated by the chief spokesman of China in his opening address at the Institute of Pacific Relations. "On the one hand we find

a group of nations, mainly of the white race, which through one means or another have in past years secured certain privileges, rights and territories from Eastern peoples. These they are very anxious to maintain as long as possible. On the other hand we find another group of nations in which the spirit of nationalism and racial consciousness is rapidly growing and which are therefore anxious to recover what has been wrested from them in the past."

The alignment of the Eastern nations as against the Western nations seems to be developing with great rapidity. President Roosevelt declared in a passage quoted by Mr. F. C. Atherton of Honolulu: "I believe that our future will be more determined by our position in the Pacific facing China than by our position facing Europe." Eastern nations are no longer the backward lands of fifty years ago. Japan's rise has been meteoric. Her industrial activities, her universities, her army and navy bear comparison with those of any land. China is thrilling with national consciousness, but feeling the irksomeness of bonds and treaties put upon her when she was weak.—*Information Service,* Federal Council of Churches.

Self-Interest in International Trade

The problems of international commerce are discussed editorially in *World's Work* for September, 1925. The statement is made that at the recent meeting of the International Chamber of Commerce, the delegates from the different countries saw only "those aspects of international polity which would benefit their own nation."

Such meetings are chiefly valuable as a method for the development of "the art of friendly commercial intercourse and rivalry." As yet the principle of immediate self-interest is the only one followed in international trade. "Any large improvement in commercial relations is more likely to be based upon principle than upon present practice, because at present any government that should compromise with immediate gain would be dubbed unpatriotic."

The Wealth of the Nations

The National City Bank of New York has made a compilation of what appear to be the most authoritative estimates

available of the wealth of the principal nations of the world, at intervals during the last half century. The following table gives the result: (Blank spaces indicate that no data are available).

In Million Dollars

	1922	1912	1890	1870
United States	320,803	186,299	65,037	30,069
United Kingdom ...	88,840	79,297	53,352	40,000
France	67,710	57,075	43,799	33,092
Germany	35,700	77,783	49,500	38,000
Italy	25,986	23,030	9,733	7,300
Spain	29,319		11,193	10,512

This indicates that the wealth of the United States increased almost eleven times between 1870 and 1922, that of Great Britain a little more than doubled, that of France doubled.

Wealth and Bonded Slaves for Progress

The radical doctrines of capitalism find adequate expression in the following editorial emanation from *Commerce and Finance:* "As the world slips into 1925 we have all become —every one of us—the owners of hundreds of millions of able-bodied serfs. We have a mortgage on the lives of both the living and the unborn in practically every nation of Europe except Russia. We shall have, if not gold pouring in, then its equivalent in merchandise. Each of us can hope to have more to spend. With such wealth we can hope to do two things. We can waste it, individually, as every great empire has finally wasted its resources in the past; or else, utilizing the modern invention called capitalism, we can mass it in ways that will enable us . . . to remold the entire world nearer to the heart's desire. With money—and the labor of bonded slaves." There you have it in a nut-shell, and with the exultation of an enthusiast. Just as popes and emperors once gathered power, and just as imperial powers rounded up the "lesser breeds" and took "a mortgage on the lives of both the living and the unborn," so now "with money and the labor of bonded slaves" we can utilize "that modern invention, called capitalism" (God be praised!), to "remold the entire world nearer to the heart's desire."—Editorial in the *Christian Century,* April 9, 1925.

Do Tariffs Violate Christian Ideals?

The moral argument against the protective tariff might be summarized thus: First, it needlessly raises prices to the consumer of domestic goods. All arguments to the contrary are meaningless. If it can be shown that in any given case a protective tariff does not have this effect, one of two things is proved thereby—either the effect is present but is concealed by a general price movement which overshadows it, or the tariff is quite without economic significance with reference to the purposes for which it was enacted. . . .

Secondly, wherever a tariff wall is effective in "protecting" home industries it tends toward monopoly. The history of the iron and the textile industries in this country furnishes abundant illustration of this fact. Assuming that a high tariff enables certain domestic manufacturers whose costs are relatively high to keep comfortably on the market when they would otherwise be crowded off, it follows that those who were making a good profit without the aid of the tariff are afforded by the impost a premium—clear "velvet." . . .

Thirdly, the protective tariff is at best a purely nationalistic, "safety first" device. It capitalizes the advantages of one nation at the expense of the rest of the world.—*Do Tariffs Violate Christian Ideals?* by F. Ernest Johnson. *The Christian Century,* January 10, 1924.

Causes of International War, by G. Lowes Dickinson. Harcourt, Brace and Company.

CHAPTER XXXIII

POISONED NEWS

Translating the ideals of Jesus into international relations means: Discouragement of all propaganda tending to mislead peoples in their international relations or to create prejudice.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

What methods are used in newspapers and other journals to mislead and prejudice us?

Do we know how to read news critically so as to try to detect misleading propaganda? How should we go about it?

Should we view the acts of all people objectively and impartially?

Should we judge official news of our government in the same manner and by the same methods as we judge that of other governments? How about statements by officials of the government?

How do we get our news about other countries?

What makes up our minds about other countries?

Do history text-books tend to create prejudice in the minds of children in favor of their own country and against other countries?

Should history text-books be written as impartially and scientifically as possible, solely with a view to presenting events accurately?

How can we be assured of impartial history texts?

What new methods do we need in order to be informed about the events of the day?

What is the function of the daily newspaper?
How must we supplement it in order to be informed?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

Propaganda and the Press

The press in America . . . a great problem. Mr. Walter Lippman in *Liberty and the News* shows that the first issue of the first newspaper printed in the United States was written "toward curing that spirit of lying that prevails amongst us." It was immediately suppressed. But never was there greater need of the spirit of truth than in America today. The very life of democracy depends upon publicity and the press is one of the major channels of publicity. Mr. Frank I. Cobb, the editor of the New York *World,* shows the evil effect of the war upon the press: "For five years there has been no true play of public opinion in the world. Multitudes have been willing to die for their country but not to think for it." Out of all the troubled areas of the world streams of propaganda are converging upon us. The world war has long victimized both sides by a distorted propaganda.

The race riots in Omaha, Washington, and elsewhere were stirred up by the propaganda of the press. General Wood upon his arrival in Omaha showed that one of the first steps to law and order was the suppression of a "rotten press" which had been fomenting race hatred for weeks.

One living in the foul atmosphere of a stifling room soon ceases to be aware of the poison which is benumbing his senses. Probably many of us have never recognized the menace of our public press. A student recently won an oratorical contest on the press as a "Maker of Wars." He might have added "Maker of Crime." Barring certain shining exceptions, how many cities in the United States can be found today where the press is giving adequately the world's news and only "the news that's fit to print" without the vulgar, criminal or sensational. If you take Chicago and all the cities of the middle west dependent upon it, you have a newspaper claiming to be the greatest on earth which is throughout typified by its motto "Right or wrong, my country" not of course that right matters particularly! The only alternative to this morning paper is one of the Hearst papers, in that stream of poisoned yellow journalism that now stretches throughout America from coast to coast; that would drag us on the one hand into war with England, on the other

into war with Japan, and on the south into war with Mexico. These are the alternatives of reading matter presented in the morning papers to the people of that great crime-infested city of Chicago. How far is such a press responsible for these disgraceful conditions of hold-ups, automobile bandits, widespread divorce and crime? . . .

When Mr. Seebohm Rowntree was touring in this country, he was asked by a leading newspaper man what he thought of the American press. He tried, out of courtesy, to avoid a reply, but when forced to give a frank answer he stated his opinion of the press in America today as "damnably rotten." Did he speak the truth, or have we been breathing this poisoned atmosphere so long that we have ceased to realize it?

The Associated Press and other news services are not independent organizations feeding news to their clients, but simply interrelated newspapers exchanging materials. The Denver newspapers control all the news that is read in the country about the Colorado coal mines. The Boston newspapers control all the news that is read in San Francisco about the New England textile mills.—Reprinted from *America, Her Problems and Perils,* by Sherwood Eddy, by permission of George H. Doran Company. Pamphlet.

How Shall We Overcome Ignorance and Misfortune?

The Growth of a Press Legend

Cologne Zeitung (Germany): "When the fall of Antwerp got known the church bells were rung." (Meaning in Germany.)

The Matin (Paris): "According to the *Cologne Zeitung,* the clergy of Antwerp were compelled to ring the church bells when the fortress was taken."

The Times (London): "According to what *The Matin* has heard from Cologne, the Belgian priests who refused to ring the church bells when Antwerp was taken have been driven away from their places."

The Corriere della Sera (Milan, Italy): "According to what *The Times* has heard from Cologne via Paris, the unfortunate Belgian priests who refused to ring the church bells when Antwerp was taken have been sentenced to hard labor."

The Matin (Paris): "According to information to the *Corriere della Sera* from Cologne via London, it is confirmed that

the barbaric conquerors of Antwerp punished the unfortunate Belgian priests for their heroic refusal to ring the church bells by hanging them as living clappers to the bells with their heads down."

The return to "traditions of candour" promised by the *Cologne Gazette* has been as difficult for the press as a return to normal conditions in other fields has been difficult.

How Can We Distinguish Truth from Propaganda?

In War Time. It is of course true, as most well-informed people now understand, that the Rathom disclosures which made *The Providence Journal* famous during the war were fiction—but Rathom did all this for the praiseworthy purpose of arousing his countrymen to a war fury. He took one of the practical ways of doing so. When pressed by the Department of Justice with the realities in the matter, he blandly asked if the Germans were not doing things similar to those which he had pictured. And on getting an affirmative reply, he answered: "What was the harm then in giving the people an equivalent of the reality?" His idea was that fiction cognate to the facts would serve an entirely justifiable purpose . . . This is all a part of the war game and will be as long as war lasts as a means of settling disputes. . . . Mr. Rathom, an intrepid journalist of originality and force, merely "played the game."—An editorial in *The Boston Herald,* December 30, 1923.

In Peace Time. In order to discredit the Bolsheviks, a prominent American professor not long ago decided to send out "the nationalization of women story" to every fraternal club in America. He was told by a reliable informant that "the story was a fabrication and had been totally disproved in Russia, that William Allen White has declared that no one now pretends there is any basis of truth in the story whatever, and that the American government has officially denied it."

"Oh, well," the professor replied, "the story is bad, and the Bolsheviks are bad, so it can't do any harm. We'll just send it out anyway." The professor has since been appointed to a responsible diplomatic post in our foreign service.—*Christian Fellowship Among the Nations,* by Jerome Davis and Roy B. Chamberlin. The Pilgrim Press. A Discussion Course.

A National Peace Department, by Kirby Page. From the author at 347 Madison Avenue, New York. Pamphlet.

America and Japan. The Commission on International Justice and Good Will. Federal Council of Churches. Brief answers to 20 questions giving facts bearing on popular misinformation.

The Adulteration and Poisoning of the News, by Jerome Davis. From the author, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn. Pamphlet.

The Power of the Press for Peace and War. National Council for Prevention of War. An Important Pamphlet.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE DOLLAR AND THE FLAG

Translating the ideals of Jesus into international relations means: The replacement of selfish imperialism by such disinterested treatment of backward nations as to contribute the maximum to the welfare of each nation and of all the world.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

Has the government of the United States practiced selfish imperialism? Where? How?

Has selfish imperialism been practiced, for instance, in the Philippines? What evidence have we?

Has selfish imperialism been practiced, for instance, in the West Indies? In Central America?

What evidence have we that the government of the United States is "disinterested" in its policy of holding the Philippines? In its policy in Cuba? In its policy in Porto Rico? In its policy in Haiti and San Domingo?

What is involved in "disinterested treatment"?

How can we be sure that "disinterested treatment" of backward nations is going on?

Is international supervision of backward nations likely to be better than national supervision? How should this be carried on?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

American Imperialism

The future of American imperialism is discussed by Raymond Leslie Buell of Harvard University, in the October, 1925, *Yale Review*. The United States has recently lost the friendship of most of the world, says Mr. Buell, through her foreign debt policy, the Japanese exclusion act, etc. The world today is moving toward compulsory arbitration of international disputes but the United States, though urging voluntary arbitra-

tion, has always refused to accept compulsory arbitration. Though several treaties providing for compulsory arbitration have been drawn up none of them has been accepted by the Senate. In the arbitration treaties which the United States now has with other countries questions of vital interest to the contracting states are not to be submitted to arbitration. But the decision as to which are "vital interests" rests with the individual country. The United States has steadily insisted that such "domestic questions" as the Monroe Doctrine, immigration and the territorial integrity of the United States cannot be arbitrated.

"Oleaginous Diplomacy"

These words are from the title of a pamphlet by Edward M. Earle of Columbia University, published by the Academy of Political Science (reprinted from the June, 1924, *Quarterly*). It is a discussion of the relation of petroleum to diplomacy. The author reminds the reader that in 1920, Secretary of State Colby warned the British Government that "the fact cannot be ignored that the reported resources of Mesopotamia have interested public opinion in the United States as a potential subject of international strife."

Mr. Earle propounds some questions with reference to the participation of the government in such matters:

"Is it the business of the American Department of State so actively to concern itself with the ventures of American petroleum companies in the four corners of the earth? In particular, is it the business of the Department of State to paddle in Mesopotamian oil? Even more important, is there any advantage to be gained by the promotion of these so-called national interests which will not be more than offset by possible friction between the American and British peoples? How can the United States expect European Powers to recognize the economic implications of the Monroe Doctrine if the United States is unwilling to recognize that European Powers have their particular spheres of interest? If the principle of the open door and of equality of economic opportunity is to be a contribution to international peace, it must be honestly applied. And it will not be honestly applied if it is compromised for the achievement of a temporary national advantage or if its

advantages are acquired without its responsibilities being recognized."

Imperialism and Nationalism, by Kirby Page. Doran, 1925. Pamphlet.

The part of the book which has most immediate interest for American readers is the latter half, in which the author treats historically the territorial expansion of the United States. His thesis, however—that nationalism and imperialism, and even religion, have been woven into a complex that produces interminable hatred, oppression and war—is set forth in the account of Near East politics to which the earlier part of the book is devoted.

Dollar Diplomacy, by Scott Nearing and Joseph Freeman. The Viking Press, 1925.

Tracing first the economic background of our imperialism—our economic position, wealth, importation of raw materials, foreign markets, etc.—the authors come on to a consideration of "American Imperialism in Action." Intense, restless, seemingly resistless action it is, involving the development of spheres of influence in China and the Near East; of political "regulation" in Hawaii, Panama, Mexico; of armed intervention in the Caribbean countries; of the "acquisition without annexation" of Cuba, "the sugar bowl of the world"; of the conquest of the Philippines, and the purchase of the Virgin Islands; of our new relations with European countries since the war. In a final section the growth of our imperial policy is briefly but comprehensively surveyed.

American Foreign Investments, by Robert W. Dunn. Viking Press. 1925.

A Defense of Imperialism. Information Service, Federal Council of Churches, March 28, 1925.

Diplomacy and Finance. Information Service, Federal Council of Churches, August 23, 1924.

CHAPTER XXXV

HOW MUCH ARMAMENT?

Translating the ideals of Jesus into international relations means: The abolition of military armaments by all nations except for an internal police force.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

What data are there in regard to the amount of armaments in the world?

What is the cost of maintaining these armaments?

Do we agree that they are usually many times more than would be needed for an internal police force?

Do we agree with the sentiment expressed in the statement?

How should such abolition of military armaments be sought?

How can the nations be persuaded to act upon the matter?

Who should determine the amount of armament needed by a nation for an internal police force?

By what method can we and other churches hasten the reduction of armaments?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

What Wars Are Costing Today

In answer to the frequent inquiry as to what the various nations are spending on war preparations we publish below the most authoritative data that can be assembled on the subject at this time. The appropriations, expressed in the monetary units of the respective countries, were furnished by the Statistics Branch of the War Department of the United States. These units have been converted into American dollars by one of the leading banking houses of New York. They are in some cases approximations because in these instances no recent transactions have occurred by which the values might be definitely fixed.

Military Budgets

Country	*Year*	*Total*
Albania	1923	$ 1,017,229
Argentina	1924	39,826,318
Australia	1924	16,150,770
Austria	1924	7,857,142
Belgium	1924	24,562,629
Bolivia	1924	2,958,285
Brazil	1924	26,818,347
Bulgaria	1924	1,134,000
Canada	1924	12,801,737
Chile	1923	16,125,439
Colombia	1924	2,986,123
Costa Rica	1924	130,264
Cuba	1924	10,959,799
Czecho-Slovakia	1924	68,999
Denmark	1924	10,680,000
Equador	1924	2,720,846
Esthonia	1923	4,844,036
Finland	1924	10,395,000
France	1924	220,403,601
Germany	1924	107,100,000
Great Britain	1924	652,696,789
Greece	1924	40,567,814
Guatemala	1924	1,584,247
Haiti	1924	1,045,310
Honduras	1924	2,173,543
Hungary	1923	2,629,015
India	1923	182,500,000
Italy	1924	117,093,411
Japan	1924	17,683,300
Jugoslavia	1924	39,120,020
Latvia	1924	5,605,365
Lithuania	1923	5,176,682
Mexico	1923	63,238,095
Netherlands	1924	42,405,500
Nicaragua	1923	145,827
Norway	1924	8,311,776
Paraguay	1923	470,252
Peru	1924	5,721,525
Poland	1924	85,102,964
Portugal	1924	11,154,866
Roumania	1924	17,873,503
Russia	1923	105,752,070
Salvador	1924	664,205
Santo Domingo	1924	1,124,827
Spain	1924	76,601,243
Sweden	1924	40,012,400
Switzerland	1924	15,733,361
Turkey	1924	24,340,880
United States	1924	554,372,018
Uruguay	1924	7,027,556
Venezuela	1924	2,400,000

(Minor fractions of cents have been dropped in the computations. They may be taken, however, as substantially accurate.)—*Information Service,* Federal Council of Churches, July 18, 1925.

The Reserve Officers' Training Corps

Military Training in High Schools and Colleges in the United States is the title of an informing pamphlet by Winthrop D. Lane, a well-known writer and investigator. This study of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (R. O. T. C., as it is commonly known) was sent out in 1925 with a foreword urging the abolition of all military training in high schools and of compulsory military training in colleges. The foreword is signed by 58 persons of prominence including several United States senators, college professors, ministers, editors, etc.

Mr. Lane explains that the military training described in the pamphlet is "encouraged, supervised and regulated by the War Department . . . to make soldiers." The courses used, and the time devoted to it are prescribed by the War Department, which also provides the instructors and the necessary equipment.

During 1924-1925 there were R. O. T. C. units in 124 colleges and universities, 63 high schools and 39 military schools. Practically all the state agricultural colleges and most of the state universities have R. O. T. C. units, as have many technical schools and some of the best-known colleges of the country.

Copies of the pamphlet may be secured from Committee on Military Training, 387 Bible House, Astor Place, New York.

Military Training in American High Schools and Colleges. The Case For and Against. By William I. Hull. World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches. 1926. Pamphlet.

CHAPTER XXXVI

SHALL THE CHURCH BLESS WAR?

Translating the ideals of Jesus into international relations means: That the church of Christ as an institution should not be used as an instrument or an agency in the support of war.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

Has it been customary for the church of Christ to support the government in time of war?

Do we understand by the section of the statement above that an individual member of the church may support or oppose war in accordance with the dictates of his conscience, but that the church as an organization should not be used in support of war?

Is this a proper distinction?

Does this mean that the church should not assist in recruiting, in the securing of wealth to support war, or to create sentiment in favor of war?

Would this be done in our church next week if war should be declared?

What should be the relation of church to the state?

What do we as individuals feel about war as a method of settling international dispute?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

Churches as "Sellers of War"

In an article in *The Family* for May, 1926, John R. Brown, general secretary of the United Charities of St. Paul, makes this significant reference to the views of former Secretary Lane in regard to the influence of the churches in selling the world war to the country: "The churches, according to Secretary Lane, were the most direct and efficient of the agencies used during the war to create public sentiment and to adver-

tise the Liberty Loans, to aid in recruiting and to put over the great appeal of war benevolences. According to him, but for the churches the war would not have been sold to the country communities, villages, and small towns of the United States."

Catholic Teaching on War and Peace

An interesting article on the position of the Roman Catholic Church in regard to war, by Frederick Siedenberg, S.J., Loyola University, Chicago, is published in the *American Journal of Sociology* for November. It is thus summarized in the Journal:

"The Catholic Church down through the ages has taken a stand midway between professional militarism and absolute pacificism. *Virtus stat in medio* has its application in this as in most other practical matters. While propounding by preachment and by precept the ideal of universal charity and mutual tolerance in thought and deed, she has not failed to recognize the individual's inalienable right to vigorous self-defense. Likewise, the church recognizes and clearly defines the duty of the state—which is organized for society and not vice-versa—to protect its people and their interests by upholding the adequate sanctions of law and order. The right of sanctuary, the 'Peace of God,' the 'Truce of God,' and many laws regulating warfare are among the concrete achievements of the church in preventing or in mitigating the horrors of war. So, too, must be counted the efforts of the many popes from early times down to the present day, who have raised their voices to protest against international hatreds and injustices, to mediate in such crises, and to lend their efforts to prevent wars. An approach to the reign of peace and good will on earth will come only through an observance of the doctrines which were promulgated and taught by the church's Founder, the Prince of Peace.

"All attempts to outlaw war have failed and always will fail, except those efforts which proceed from a recognition of, and a living in conformity with the laws of ethics and right moral principles. . . ."

Message from a National Study Conference

"The Church, the body of Christ all-inclusive—transcending race and national divisions—should henceforth oppose war, as a method of settling disputes between nations and groups

as contrary to the spirit and principles of Jesus Christ, and should declare that it will not as a Church sanction war.

"The Church should teach patriotic support of the State, but should never become the agent of the Government in any activity alien to the spirit of Christ. The Church should look to the responsible statesmen of a Christian country to conduct the public business along those lines of justice and reason which will not lead to war.

"The Church should recognize the right and the duty of each individual to follow the guidance of his own conscience as to whether or not he shall participate in war.

"War, whether aggressive or defensive, is the use of organized violence in a dispute between nations or hostile groups. Even though one of the parties may be guiltless, it creates hatred, leads to unlimited loss of life and property, and always involves large numbers of innocent victims. In war the parties directly concerned seek to settle the issues involved by superior force regardless of justice. Usually war involves conscription of the individual conscience and a nation-wide propaganda of falsehood, suspicion, fear and hate. This is modern war in its nature and processes, as our generation has seen it, whether the war be fought for offensive or defensive purposes. War is thus the very antithesis of police force. Attention is called to the fact that a punitive expedition undertaken by one or more nations on their own initiative is essentially a war measure, and not an exercise of international police force."—The Declarations of the Study Conference on the Churches and World Peace, December, 1925.

American Policy and International Security. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, July, 1925.

War: Its Causes, Consequences and Cure, by Kirby Page. Doran. 1923. Pamphlet.

The Abolition of War, by Sherwood Eddy and Kirby Page. Doran. 1924. Pamphlet.

The Church and International Relations. Report of Commission IV to the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work, American Committee of the Conference, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Christianity and the State, by S. Parkes Cadman. Macmillan. 1924.

Facing the Crisis, by Sherwood Eddy. Doran. 1922. Chapter IV on the Ethics of War.

Patriotism is Not Enough, by John H. Holmes. Greenberg, Inc. 1925.

International Problems and the Christian Way of Life. The Inquiry, 1923. Pamphlet Study Course.

CHAPTER XXXVII

AN ORGANIZED WORLD

Translating the ideals of Jesus into international relations means: A permanent association of the nations for world peace and good will, the outlawry of war, and the settling of all differences between nations by conference, arbitration, or by an international court.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

Do we agree as to the need of a permanent association of the nations for world peace and good will?

What should its functions and activities be?

What are some of the achievements of the League of Nations?

What have been some of its limitations and weaknesses?

What is meant by the outlawry of war?

Do we favor this?

How should this be attained?

Should our nations be willing to confer on every difference with another nation or nations?

Should we be willing to submit to impartial arbitration any and everything not settled in conference?

What functions can be performed by an international court?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

The League at Work

A comprehensive survey of the work of the League of Nations since its organization is given in the 1925 Yearbook of the League of Nations, recently issued by the World Peace Foundation. The Yearbook includes a description of the organization of the League, its work, its duties under the treaties, organizations associated with the League, the text of the Covenant and of the Geneva Protocol, and the list of national representatives at Geneva.

The work of the "technical organizations" for the study of

special fields of international relations has resulted in 27 international conventions which are already in force and 17 which have been ratified by some countries but still await the signatures of others. These treaties cover a wide variety of objects from the World Court protocol to identity certificates for Armenian and Russian refugees. Nine draft conventions drawn up by the technical organizations or their experts have also been recommended to the League of Nations for action.

The work of the League may be classified under four heads: direct and voluntary relations with states; duties under the Covenant; the cooperation of states under the Covenant, and duties under treaties. An important part of the League's work in dealing directly with states is the peaceable settlement of disputes.

Among the disputes brought before it are the Swedish-Finnish dispute over the Aaland Islands, the boundary dispute between Poland and Lithuania, the administration of Upper Silesia, the Albanian-Jugoslav boundary dispute, the question of Czecho-Slovak-Polish frontier, the Greco-Italian dispute which led to the Italian occupation of Corfu, the administration of the territory of Memel, the question of autonomy for the Finns of Eastern Carelia, the frontier between Iraq and Turkey. In most of these cases the decision of the Council of the League was accepted. The Greco-Italian dispute was settled through the Conference of Ambassadors instead of the Council of the League. The Iraq question is not yet settled. Another part of the League's work in direct relation with individual states is the registration of treaties entered into by members of the League of Nations. These are also published in a Treaty Series, which has now reached thirty-two volumes.

Codifying International Law

George W. Wickersham discussed the Geneva Conference on Progressive Codification of International Law in *International Goodwill* for May 7, 1925. He said in part: "For many years the general codification of international law has been advocated by various jurists. Some Codes actually have been prepared and published . . . but none of these Codes was ever accepted by governments. . . . Meantime, many questions of international law have arisen and have been decided by the

Supreme Court of the United States as well as by high courts in other lands. . . .

"In this state of affairs the last Assembly directed the Council to call a meeting of qualified persons to consider and report what subjects of international law were ripe for present agreement among governments, and in this connection to take the opinion of those learned societies which had devoted themselves to the study of the subject.

"The Committee has no thought of attempting a comprehensive codification at one bound. It contemplates the preparation of a series of topics for international consideration, so that by degrees the law of nations may be made more certain, more easily ascertainable than it now is. . . . It has made a good beginning by establishing cordial relations among its members and by adopting the rule of patient, scholarly research and statement. Its hope is to make some progress which will commend itself to the judgment of thoughtful men."

Pamphlets of the Committee for the Outlawry of War, 76 W. Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill.

Outlawry of Wars: (A Criticism), by Walter Lippman. *Atlantic Monthly,* August, 1923.

Shall the United States Enter the World Court? A debate between M. O. Hudson and John Dewey. *The Christian Century,* October 11 and 18, 1923.

The Fourth Year of the Permanent Court of International Justice, by Manley O. Hudson. *American Journal on International Law,* January, 1926.

America and the World Court, by Manley O. Hudson. The Margaret C. Peabody Fund, 1926.

Suggested Outline for Teaching the World Court. The League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, 1926. Pamphlet.

Essential Facts in Regard to the League of Nations, the World Court and the International Labor Organization. The League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, 1926. Pamphlet.

Pamphlets of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, 6 East 39th Street, New York City.

The Schools of the World and the League, a 1925 Survey. Cardiff, Wales. Welsh Council of the League of Nations. 1926. Pamphlet.

An American Peace Policy, by Kirby Page. Doran. 1925. Pamphlet. Contains a chapter on "Outlawry of War Through the World Court."

CHAPTER XXXVIII

HOW CAN THE CHURCH KNOW ITS COMMUNITY?

We believe it is the duty of every church to investigate local moral and economic conditions as well as to know world needs.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

What conditions in our community have the churches ever investigated? By what methods? Were the methods effective? What were the results?

What moral and economic conditions in the past should have been investigated?

What current situations should be investigated by the churches?

Should the churches work together in investigating conditions?

What experience have we in this work?

What experience elsewhere can guide us?

Should the church employ trained technicians to make its investigations?

How should the results of investigations be used to get the most effective results?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

One Investigation

The Denver Tramway strike and controversy of 1920 involved the loss of the lives of seven persons and serious injuries to many others; the destruction of much valuable property; the demoralization of street railway service; the importation of armed strikebreakers; the intervention of Federal troops and military rule for a month; the imprisonment of the seven members of the executive board of the union on a sentence of ninety days; the wrecking of the offices of a daily newspaper; the dislocation of more than a thousand of Denver's

workingmen, and their replacement by a new body of employees; and a marked increase of industrial strife and bitterness.

Recognizing a peculiar and common obligation in such an emergency, a group of church people of various religious faiths extended an invitation to the pastor, priest, or rabbi of every church in Denver to attend a meeting at the public library on the evening of August 16 and to bring with him a lay member of the church. At this meeting, attended by more than 100 persons from over forty different churches, a commission of nine members was chosen by ballot to investigate and report the facts of the Tramway Strike.

Communications were sent to the pastors of all the churches of Denver, informing them of the various resolutions, of the meetings held, and of the progress of the investigation.

The commission was duly organized and selected the name of The Denver Commission of Religious Forces. It invited the cooperation of the Commission on the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and the Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Council. These invitations were accepted, investigators were engaged, and the present report embodies the results of their work.

The cost of the investigation was shared in part by the national church organizations, but largely by a small group of church members in Denver (about 26 in all), the amount raised being contributed from Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish sources.

When the investigation was complete, the report was reviewed, and an oral summary of the findings was presented to a third meeting of churchmen, at the Albany Hotel, on Saturday, November 27, which was attended by one hundred and ten persons. This meeting requested the commission to prepare the report for publication and to secure for it the widest distribution. Early newspaper accounts were based upon this tentative draft. The public was then officially requested to withhold judgment until the report should be completed. Subsequently to the above date much time has been spent in the work of reediting and condensing the report. While publication has been necessarily delayed, we believe that the value of the report has been enhanced by the many suggestions and criticisms that have been received. . . .

HOW CAN THE CHURCH KNOW ITS COMMUNITY?

This is the first time, as far as we are aware, that a group of churchmen of a community in which a serious industrial conflict was taking place, have on their own initiative endeavored to ascertain the facts in an impartial way for the guidance of the churches and the community.—*The Denver Tramway Strike of 1920.* Report by Edward T. Devine, Ph.D.; Rev. John A. Ryan, D.D.; John A. Lapp, LL.D. Published October, 1921, by The Denver Commission of Religious Forces, Mrs. Ray S. David, secretary, 1206 Fifteenth Street, Denver.

Surveying Your Community. A Handbook of Method for the Rural Church. By Edmund de S. Brunner. Doran. 1925.
What Social Workers Should Know About Their Own Communities, An Outline, by Margaret E. Byington. Russell Sage Foundation. 1924. Valuable for those engaged in religious and educational work also.

CHAPTER XXXIV

DOES THE CHURCH FOLLOW JESUS?

We believe that it is only as our churches themselves follow the example and spirit of Jesus in the fullest sense—translating these social ideals into the daily life of the church and the community—that we can ever hope to build the kingdom of God on earth.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

What practices of our church are at variance with the ideals of Jesus?

In what respect should "the daily life of the church" as an institution be changed?

Do church organizations generally practice what is urged in this *Statement of Social Faith?*

Should they urge upon, e.g., nations, what they do not practice themselves?

Will the example of the church be the important factor in translating the ideals of Jesus into social relations? Why?

What changes are necessary in order to have the church as employer follow Jesus?

What would be Christian relations between churches of various faiths and backgrounds?

What is necessary for the church to conduct missions in a Christian spirit?

What is the way of Jesus in doing service unto others?

MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSION

Need of New Life in the Church

What, then, are we—here and now—to do?

We are called, first to build up a new life of fellowship in the church for the world. The Christian society, as we have seen, is ideally a spiritual fellowship dominated by the idea of the kingdom of God. It is a brotherhood so intimately

united with Christ that it is his body; its members are his members. It is so filled and fused with the Holy Spirit that its separate elements are fitly framed together in his living temple. It has the mind of Christ so fully and in such unity that his will is its will and it thinks his thought. And as his thought and will are for the redemption of men everywhere, that aim—the coming of his Kingdom—dominates its life.

Holding this ideal of the life of the church before us steadily, with its outline clearly focussed, we discover at least four lines along which the practice of fellowship in the church can be adventured; each avenue of exploration being vitally linked with all the others. There is, first, the life of that congregation of Christian folk with whom we worship under one roof; there is secondly, fellowship in cooperation with the other local groups or congregations—the Christians of other denominations in the place where we live; there is, thirdly, the whole life of the denomination to which our own little local congregation belongs; and there is, fourthly, the fellowship on the larger scale of "the holy church throughout all the world."—Reprinted from *Fellowship,* by Basil Mathews and Harry Bisseker, by permission of George H. Doran Company.

The Church as Owner and Employer

The following paragraphs are from the account of the Conference of the Methodist Federation of Social Service, held in Evanston, Ill., June 15-17, 1926, as reported in *Zion's Herald* for June 23, 1926:

The discussion of "The Church and Its Property" was opened by Rev. F. Ernest Johnson of the Federal Council of Churches, and centered about questions concerning the sources of the church's gifts, the responsibility of the church for its investments and the degree of involvement in the economic order which the church's material possessions incur.

Mr. Johnson insisted that the church must maintain an attitude of criticism and evaluation with reference to this whole subject and must therefore avoid becoming "property-minded." Admitting that the line is hard to draw between possessions that are justified and those that are too much, he said that the church must not allow its holdings to reach the point where it becomes easier for it as an institution to do

violence to religious and ethical tradition than to suffer any jar to its economic status. He distinguished between current income which involves no continuing responsibility, and thus no enduring "taint," and income from investments which may involve the church, as owner, in moral compromise. He urged that the church should never accept a gift of income-producing property if it is not willing and able to bear the responsibility for ownerships and administration which the gift entails. He insisted, however, that merely selling or giving away an investment that is morally undesirable is not a solution of the problem at all.

The next topic was "The Church as Employer," discussion of which was opened by Dr. Ralph B. Urmy of Bellevue, Pennsylvania. He presented statistics showing the inadequate provision made for the principal employes of the church, namely the pastors. He undertook to establish by citation from official documents that the Methodist Church is "benevolent and paternalistic. In factory and office, it pays the salaries and wages of the more liberal employers of the business world." However, he said, the church does not lead, but rather follows, in respect to these standards. He pointed out that the Methodist General Conference is officially committed to the principle of democracy in industry but he considered that the church's policy with reference to organized labor was hardly in keeping with this declaration.

Making Christianity Christian, by Frank Milton Shelton. Pilgrim Press, 1923. Pamphlet. Study Course.

APPENDIX

A STATEMENT OF SOCIAL IDEALS

Adopted by the National Council of Congregational Churches of the United States, October 24, 1925.

We believe in making the social and spiritual ideals of Jesus our test for community as well as for individual life; in strengthening and deepening the inner personal relationship of the individual with God, and recognizing his obligation and duty to society. This is crystallized in the two commandments of Jesus: *"Love thy God and love thy neighbor."* We believe this pattern ideal; for a Christian social order involves the recognition of the sacredness of life, the supreme worth of each single personality, and our common membership in one another —the brotherhood of all. In short, it means creative activity in cooperation with our fellow human beings, and with God, in the everyday life of society and in the development of a new and better world social order. Translating this ideal

I. Into Education means:

(1) The building of a social order in which every child has the best opportunity for development.

(2) Adequate and equal educational opportunity for all, with the possibility of extended training for those competent.

(3) A thorough and scientific program of religious and secular education designed to Christianize everyday life and conduct.

(4) Conservation of health, including careful instruction in sex hygiene and home building, abundant and wholesome recreation facilities, and education for leisure, including a nation-wide system of adult education.

(5) Insistence on constitutional rights and duties, including freedom of speech, of the press, and of peaceable assemblage.

(6) Constructive education and Christian care of dependents, defectives, and delinquents, in order to restore them to normal life whenever possible, with kindly segregation for those who are hopelessly feeble-minded. (This means that such institutions as the jails, prisons, and orphan asylums should be so conducted as to be genuine centers for education and health.)

(7) A scientifically planned program of international education promoting peace and good will and exposing the evils of war, intoxicants, illiteracy, and other social sins.

II. Into Industry and Economic Relationships means:

(1) A reciprocity of service—that group interests, whether of labor or capital, must always be integrated with the welfare of society as a whole, and that society in its turn must insure justice to each group.

(2) A frank abandonment of all efforts to secure something for nothing, and recognition that all ownership is a social trust involving Christian administration for the good of all and that the unlimited exercise of the right of private ownership is socially undesirable.

(3) Abolishing child labor and establishing standards for the employment of minors which will insure maximum physical, intellectual and moral development.

(4) Freedom from employment one day in seven, the eight-hour day as the present maximum for all industrial workers.

(5) Providing safe and sanitary industrial conditions especially protecting women; adequate accident, sickness, and unemployment insurance, together with suitable provision for old age.

(6) An effective national system of public employment bureaus to make possible the proper distribution of the labor forces of America.

(7) That the first charge upon industry should be a minimum comfort wage and that all labor should give an honest day's work for an honest day's pay.

(8) Adequate provision for impartial investigation and publicity, conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes.

(9) The right of labor to organize with representatives of its own choosing and, where able, to share in the management of industrial relations.

(10) Encouragement of the organization of consumers' cooperatives for the more equitable distribution of the essentials of life.

(11) The supremacy of the service, rather than the profit motive in the acquisition and use of property on the part of both labor and capital, and the most equitable division of the product of industry that can be devised.

III. Into Agriculture means:

(1) That the farmer shall have access to the land he works, on such terms as will ensure him personal freedom and economic encouragement, while society is amply protected by efficient production and conservation of fertility.

(2) That the cost of market distribution from farmer to consumer shall be cut to the lowest possible terms, both farmers and consumers sharing in these economies.

(3) That there shall be every encouragement to the organization of farmers for economic ends, particularly for cooperative sales and purchases.

(4) That an efficient system of both vocational and general education of youths and adults living on farms shall be available.

(5) That special efforts shall be made to ensure the farmer adequate social institutions, including the church, the school, the library, means of recreation, good local government, and particularly the best possible farm home.

(6) That there shall be a widespread development of organized rural communities, thoroughly democratic, completely cooperative, and possessed with the spirit of the common welfare.

(7) That there shall be the fullest measure of friendly reciprocal cooperation between the rural and city workers.

IV. Into Racial Relations means:

(1) The practice of the American principle of the same protection and rights for all races who share our common life.

(2) The elimination of racial discrimination, and substitution of full brotherly treatment for all races in America.

(3) The fullest cooperation between the churches of various races, even though of different denominations.

(4) Educational and social equipment for the special needs of immigrants, with government information bureaus.

V. Into International Relations means:

(1) The removal of every unjust barrier of trade, color, creed, and race, and the practice of equal justice for all nations.

(2) The administration of the property and privileges within each country so that they will be of the greatest benefit not only to that nation but to all the world.

(3) Discouragement of all propaganda tending to mislead peoples in their international relations or to create prejudice.

(4) The replacement of selfish imperialism by such disinterested treatment of backward nations as to contribute the maximum to the welfare of each nation and of all the world.

(5) The abolition of military armaments by all nations except for an internal police force.

(6) That the church of Christ as an institution should not be used as an instrument or an agency in the support of war.

(7) A permanent association of the nations for world peace and good will, the outlawry of war, and the settling of all differences between nations by conference, arbitration, or by an international court.

We believe it is the duty of every church to investigate local moral and economic conditions as well as to know world needs. We believe that it is only as our churches themselves follow the example and spirit of Jesus in the fullest sense—translating these social ideals into the daily life of the church and the community—that we can ever hope to build the kingdom of God on earth.

These affirmations we make as Christians and loyal citizens of our beloved country. We present them as an expression of our faith and patriotism. We urge upon all our citizens the support of our cherished institutions, faithfulness at the ballot, respect for law, and loyal support of its administrators. We believe that our country can and will make a great contribution to the realization of Christian ideals throughout the world.

Bookshelf of Social Relations

Christianity and Social Science. *Charles A. Ellwood. The Macmillan Company. $1.75.*

***What Social Workers Should Know about Their Community.** *Margaret E. Byington. Russell Sage Foundation. 25 cents.*

***Danger Zones of the Social Order.** *Sherwood Eddy and Kirby Page. 15 cents.*

***Waste.** *Stuart Chase. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.*

***Causes of Industrial Unrest.** *John Fitch. Harper & Brothers. $3.00.*

***Modern Industrial Relations.** *John Calder. Longmans Green & Company. $2.25.*

Wages and the Family. *H. Paul Douglass. University of Chicago Press. $3.00.*

Incentives in the New Industrial Order. *J. A. Hobson. Thomas Seltzer. $1.75.*

***Christian Fellowship among the Nations.** *Jerome Davis and Roy B. Chamberlin. The Pilgrim Press. 25 cents.*

***The Profit Motive.** *Harry F. Ward. League for Industrial Democracy. 10 cents.*

***Child Labor in the United States. Ten Questions Answered.** *Children's Bureau Publication No. 114, United States Department of Labor. Free.*

***How America Lives.** *Harry Laidler. League for Industrial Democracy. 10 cents.*

***War—Its Causes, Consequences and Cure.** *Kirby Page. George H. Doran Company. 15 cents.*

***What Makes up My Mind on International Questions.** *The Inquiry. 75 cents.*

***Year Book of the League of Nations. 1925.** *World Peace Foundation. 25 cents.*

***Imperialism and Nationalism.** *Kirby Page. George H. Doran Company. 15 cents.*

***The Adulteration and Poisoning of the News.** *Jerome Davis. 10 cents.*

***Christianity and the Race Problem.** *J. H. Oldham. George H. Doran Company. 15 cents.*

***And Who is My Neighbor?** *The Inquiry. 75 cents.*

The Clash of Color. *Basil Matthews. George H. Doran Company. $1.25.*

The Trend of the Races. *George E. Haynes. Missionary Education Movement. 50 cents.*

Source Book in the Philosophy of Education. *William H. Kilpatrick. The Macmillan Company. $2.25.*

What Ails Our Youth? *George A. Coe. Scribner's. $1.25.*

*__Youth in Conflict.__ *Miriam Van Waters. Republic Publishing Company. $1.00.*

*__Free Speech 1925-26.__ *American Civil Liberties Union. Free.*

*__The Church and Social Hygiene.__ *Thomas W. Galloway. American Social Hygiene Association. 10 cents.*

*__Military Training in Schools and Colleges of the United States.__ *Winthrop D. Lane. Committee on Military Training, New York City. 10 cents.*

*__Bulletin No. 2 of the Research Department of the National Education Association.__ *(Data on Educational Opportunity.) 10 cents.*

*__Handbook of Rural Social Resources.__ *Edited by Henry Israel and Benson Y. Landis. Department of Research and Education, Federal Council of Churches. $1.00.*

*__Handbook for Community Organizations.__ *J. H. Kolb and A. C. Wildeden. University of Wisconsin. 15 cents.*

Social Aspects of Farmers' Cooperative Marketing. *Benson Y. Landis. University of Chicago Press. 25 cents.*

The above list of books may be secured from the Pilgrim Press for $25.00. Those books starred (*) may be secured for $15.00.

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